

U.S. Army Full Spectrum Operations in the Philippine Islands 1898-1941

**A Monograph
by
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Abstract

U.S. Army Full Spectrum Operations in the Philippine Islands 1898-1941 by MAJ Stephen H. Brock, Jr., U.S. Army, 59 pages.

The U.S. Army's involvement in the Philippine Archipelago 1898-1941 demonstrated the validity of the main tenants of current full spectrum operations (offensive, defensive, stability, and civil support operations), and the likelihood of more than one occurring simultaneously and over a long duration of time. The U.S. Army has operated across the spectrum of conflict, stable peace to general war, since 1775 but did not officially define it until February 2008 and has given priority of resources, effort, training, and doctrine to the most threatening elements of full spectrum doctrine: offensive and defensive operations. In past conflicts and campaigns such as the Philippine Islands, the U.S. Army has conducted stability and civil support operations out of necessity but has never desired to focus resources and time to maintain proficiency. The current operating environment has forced the Department of Defense and the U.S. Army to recognize that the spectrum of conflict is continuous and all elements of full spectrum operations must be viewed as equally important. Some will argue this is a misuse of history or a revisionist viewpoint, and involves doctrine and terminology that were not used or understood during the period of the past studied. These opinions miss the examples present in the U.S. Army's operations in the Philippines 1898-1941 that are relevant and complimentary to current full spectrum doctrine.

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Introduction

According to the February 2008 U.S. Army Field Manual (FM) 3-0 *Operations*, the spectrum of conflict ranges from stable peace to general war. The elements of full spectrum operations include offensive, defensive, stability, and civil support operations and these likely occur simultaneously and with a wide range of priorities and appropriate weighting.¹ This was the case in the Philippine Islands 1898-1941, but was not recognized or understood by the U.S. civilian and military leaders as full spectrum operations in 1898. The U.S. Army has operated across the spectrum of conflict since 1775 but did not officially define it until February 2008. Therefore, the U.S. Army has given priority of resources, effort, training, and doctrine to full spectrum operations tenants' offensive and defensive operations. In past conflicts and campaigns such as the Philippine Islands, the U.S. Army has conducted stability and civil support operations out of necessity but has never desired to focus resources and time to maintain proficiency. Furthermore, offensive and defensive operations focus on more likely threats and are traditionally Army skill sets. The U.S. Army adapted and adjusted in the past to address stability and civil support requirements, but until recently never embraced them as equals to offensive and defensive operations. The current operating environment has forced the Department of Defense and the U.S. Army to recognize that the spectrum of conflict is continuous and all elements of full spectrum operations must be viewed as equally important.

FM 3-0 defines offensive operations as “combat operations conducted to defeat and destroy enemy forces and seize terrain, resources, and population centers,” and states that offensive operations are the decisive aspect of full spectrum operations.² Defensive operations are defined as “combat operations conducted to defeat an enemy attack, gain time, economize forces, and develop conditions favorable for

¹ Field Manual 3-0, *Operations* (Washington, D.C.: Headquarters Department of the Army, February 2008), viii.

² Ibid., 3-8.

offensive or stability operations,” and are critical in regaining the initiative and momentum.³ Stability operations involve “various military missions, tasks, and activities” and include the establishment of a safe and secure environment, establishment of legal, social, and economic institutions, reconciliation of local and regional adversaries, and support the transition to legitimate local, provincial, and national government.⁴ Civil support includes “operations that address the consequences of natural or man-made disasters, accidents, terrorist attacks, and incidents in the U.S. and its territories,” and address issues of essential services, rescue operations, law and order, governance support, and infrastructure and property protection.⁵ All of these elements occurred during the U.S. Army’s involvement in the Philippine Islands from 1898-1941, and often the U.S. Army was performing two or three elements simultaneously, which meant the U.S. Army was doing full spectrum operations. The one deviation from current full spectrum doctrine was the fact that stability and civil support occurred simultaneously because the Philippines became a U.S. territory and required both types of operations. FM 3-0 states that stability tasks are for overseas or foreign duty and not for the U.S. homeland. Civil support tasks are conducted in conjunction with national, state, and local organizations on the U.S. mainland and not overseas.

This monograph focuses on the U.S. Army’s full spectrum operations conducted in the Philippine Islands 1898-1941 as a means to highlight and discuss American military history and tradition of conducting such operations despite misgivings and uncomfortable positions some of these missions represent. The U.S. Army has conducted all elements of full spectrum operations within U.S. territory since 1775 and on foreign soil since the Mexican War 1846-1848, but has continually minimized lessons learned under the umbrella of an offensive and defensive centric lens and has limited training and doctrine for stability and civil support operations. Moreover, Soldiers and statesmen alike do not feel comfortable

³ Ibid., 3-10.

⁴ Ibid., 3-12; Field Manual 3-07, *Stability Operations* (Washington, D.C.: Headquarters Department of the Army, October 2008), 2-12.

⁵ Field Manual 3-0, *Operations*, 3-18.

with the U.S. Army conducting large scale missions other than major combat operations in a nation state versus nation state conflict. Some consider stability and civil support operations as a misuse of the U.S. Army and fundamentally challenge employing U.S. forces in such a role. However, this point of view neglects or ignores the legacy of largely successful stability and civil support operations waged by the U.S. Army since its foundation in 1775, and the vital role these elements of full spectrum operations have played in advancing, enhancing, and enabling national expansion of influence and territory, prosperity domestically and internationally, and the promotion of democracy throughout the world in order to achieve U.S. National goals.

The U.S. Army must learn from its history of conducting full spectrum operations (whether defined as such or not), such as the lengthy Philippine Islands experience of 1898-1941, in order to be successful in the current operating environment and in future missions. The U.S. Army should conduct analysis of its full spectrum operations and apply the relevant theories and lessons learned in order to be successful and achieve the desired results. Stability and civil support operations are part of the U.S. Army's new full spectrum doctrine and must be mastered in order to achieve U.S. national strategic goals. This represents a severe challenge for the U.S. Army to become proficient at multiple tasks simultaneously among the prescribed elements of full spectrum operations, offensive, defensive, stability, and civil support operations, and still defend and protect the American democratic ideals, the nation, and its people.

Studying the U.S. Army's experiences in the Philippine Island offers relevant lessons for the current operating environment because the U.S. Army spent 43 years prior to World War II (1898-1941) defeating a conventional foe, fighting insurgencies, building a democratic nation from its foundation, training security and regular army forces, and garrisoning a key strategic forward base of operations for the U.S. Government. The U.S. Army's involvement in the Philippine Islands from 1898-1941 was a pivotal period in American history. The U.S. Military and civilian leaders recognized the need for stability and civil support operations in conjunction with offensive and defensive operations and made continuous adjustments to adapt to the operating environment in the Philippines. There the current and

future leaders of the U.S. Army waged a full spectrum conflict for nearly twenty years, and maintained a positive and mutually beneficial relationship with the Filipino Government they helped establish.

Additionally, the U.S. Executive Branch and War Department deemed the Philippine Islands as a critical strategic forward operating base for the U.S. Military, and garrisoned large amounts of personnel and resources to defend and maintain it as a large staging base and symbol of American might.⁶ The U.S. Military was the critical and most influential element of national power in the Philippine Islands and laid the foundation for a successful democracy and a reliable ally in the southwest Pacific.

⁶ Brian M. Linn, *Guardians of Empire: The U.S. Army and the Pacific, 1902-1940* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997), xiii.

Literature Review

The literature concerning the U.S. Army's involvement in the Philippine Islands mainly concentrates on the major combat operations with Spain in 1898, counterinsurgency operations in the Philippine War of 1899-1902, biographical works concerning military or civilian leaders with portions of these writings relaying the subject's experiences and involvements in the Philippines, and the World War II period 1941-1945. However, the U.S. Army fought counterinsurgencies until 1917 in certain parts of the Philippine Islands, and while assisting in building and securing a new Filipino Government and nation at all levels (local, provincial, and national).⁷ Little attention has been paid to the period of 1903-1941 regarding the U.S. Army's involvement in the Philippines, therefore this monograph focuses on this period using the new U.S. Army doctrine of full spectrum operations as a lens to review and analyze the U.S. Army's conduct of operations during this period.

The majority of authors and literature on the U.S. involvement in the Philippine Islands focus on certain elements of the American role in pacifying, governing, developing, and defending the archipelago. Some authors such as Brian Linn in *Guardians of Empire: The U.S. Army and the Pacific, 1902-1940*, Russell Roth in *Muddy Glory: America's 'Indian Wars' in the Philippines 1899-1935*, and Edward Coffman in *The Regulars: The American Army 1898-1941*, address the period of study 1898-1941, but not under the lens of current U.S. Army doctrine. Linn, Roth, and Coffman provide invaluable insight into the U.S. Army and its activities during this period of history and their books are expertly researched and organized. All three authors discuss the complexity and difficulty of occupying, pacifying, developing, and democratizing the Philippine Islands and the dichotomy of civil-military relations to

⁷ Andrew J. Birtle, *U.S. Army Counterinsurgency and Contingency Operations Doctrine 1860-1941* (Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, United States Army, 2004), 122.

accomplish the U.S. Government's and various presidential administrations' desires, goals, and policies for an eventually sovereign and independent Philippine nation.⁸

Another group of authors explore the political and social aspect of the U.S. involvement in the Philippine Islands, but do include discussions concerning the U.S. Army's roles and activities. Charles B. Elliott's *The Philippines: To the End of the Commission Government*, Ralph Minger's *William Howard Taft and United States Foreign Policy: The Apprenticeship Years 1900-1908*, and Stanley Karnow's *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines* approach the U.S. involvement in the Philippines from this angle and offer insight on America's occupation and how a new democratic form of government and society was initiated, developed, implemented, and the transitions involved to form an American territorial commonwealth. Elliott's work is a primary source of reference because he was a member of the Philippine Commission that was established as the American governing legislative body in the early years of U.S. involvement. He provides invaluable information on the issues, duties, decisions, departments, and construct of the Philippine Commission, and how the commission was a major portion of the U.S. Government's effort to govern, rule, develop, and secure the archipelago.⁹

Minger's book on William Howard Taft and U.S. foreign policy of the early period of the 1900's provides insight into a key figure of the American civil government in the Philippines. William Howard Taft was the first civil governor of the Philippines (personally selected by President William McKinley and Secretary of War Elihu Root) and shaped the American design for the future independent Philippine nation. He experienced a diverse civil-military relationship with his military predecessor and later military commanders. Stanley Karnow's work relays the rationale behind American involvement in the

⁸ Russell Roth, *Muddy Glory: America's 'Indian Wars' in the Philippines 1899-1935* (West Hanover, Massachusetts: The Christopher Publishing House, 1981); Edward Coffman, *The Regulars: The American Army 1898-1941* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2004).

⁹ Charles B. Elliott, *The Philippines: To the End of the Commission Government* (Indianapolis, IN: The Bobbs-Merrill Company Publishers, 1917); Ralph Minger, *William Howard Taft and United States Foreign Policy: The Apprenticeship Years 1900-1908* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1975); Stanley Karnow, *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines* (New York: Random House, 1989).

Philippines from 1898 until modern times, and expresses a view of American imperialistic desires coupled with an aspiration to spread democratic ideals. Karnow discusses primarily the political and social aspects but does link military activities to these elements in a limited manner. He does provide helpful data on the various opinions, policies, and decisions about the American involvement in the Philippines, political strategy concerning the Philippines, the future of self-rule for the Filipinos, and eventual independence of a Philippine nation from the numerous presidential administrations' points of view.

Another group of authors have written biographies on military and political leaders involved in the American experience in the Philippines. Hermann Hagedorn's *Leonard Wood: A Biography* provides insight into a key U.S. military figure involved in the American endeavors on the Philippine Islands. General Leonard Wood was the first military governor of the Muslim Mindanao and Sulu Archipelago region of the Philippines, commander of all U.S. Army forces in the Philippines and Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army in the years 1903-1914. His strategies, policies, and relationships with indigenous leaders and civil authorities in Manila (Philippine Commission) were critical to U.S. Army activities, successes, and failures in the Philippine Islands. Donald Smythe's *Guerrilla Warrior: The Early Life of John J. Pershing* permits the reader to understand the development and progression of one of America's greatest military leaders. General Pershing's approach to the Moros (indigenous Muslim population in Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago) and his promotion from captain (CPT) to brigadier general (BG) for exemplary service in the Philippines provide very useful data in understanding the U.S. Army's role and activities in the Philippines. Pershing served three separate tours of duty in the Philippines and his last assignment was military governor of the Moro Province (the last military governor in the region and in the Philippines). Furthermore, his strategies, policies, and relationships with the local datos or chiefs and the

civil authorities in Manila were very different from General Leonard Wood and demonstrate the variety of ideas and concepts the U.S. Army applied to operations in the Philippine Archipelago.¹⁰

Margaret Leech's *In The Days of McKinley*, Lewis Gould's *The Presidency of Theodore Roosevelt*, and Henry Pringle's *The Life and Times of William Howard Taft: A Biography* provide valuable information regarding the policies and directives of the first three presidents involved in the American experience in the Philippines, laying the foundation for U.S. involvement in occupying, pacifying, and developing the new American territory in the Philippine Islands, and the desires for future self-rule of the Filipino people and eventual Philippine nation. President William McKinley directed initial U.S. involvement and provided broad guidance for a lengthy commitment. President Theodore Roosevelt inherited the Philippine situation after McKinley's assassination and worked with Secretary of War Elihu Root and Governor William Howard Taft to shape the future of U.S. involvement and Filipino preparations for self-governance. President William Howard Taft used his experience as civil governor of the Philippines to continue the progression of the Filipino peoples and shift the focus of U.S. Military forces to garrison duties and invasion defense of the Philippine Islands. These biographies provide the foundation of American political policies which the U.S. Army used in waging a full spectrum conflict in the Philippines.¹¹

The last group of authors focuses primarily on U.S. Military involvement in the Spanish-America War and the Philippine War period 1898-1902 or the Philippine Scouts and the Philippine Constabulary and their contribution to the American involvement in the Philippines. Brian Linn's works *The Philippine War: 1899-1902* and *The U.S. Army and Counterinsurgency in the Philippine War, 1899-1902*

¹⁰ Hermann Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood: A Biography Volume I & II* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1931); Donald Smythe, *Guerrilla Warrior: The Early Life of John J. Pershing* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973).

¹¹ Margaret Leech, *In The Days of McKinley* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1959); Lewis Gould, *The Presidency of Theodore Roosevelt* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1991); Henry Pringle, *The Life and Times of William Howard Taft: A Biography* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1939).

and John Gates' *Schoolbooks and Krag's: The United States Army in the Philippines, 1898-1902* provide in-depth analysis on the major combat and stability operations of this period. Andrew Birtle's *U.S. Army Counterinsurgency and Contingency Operations Doctrine 1860-1941* and Robert Ramsey's works *The Savage Wars of Peace: Case Studies of Pacification in the Philippines, 1900-1902* and *A Masterpiece of Counterinsurgency Warfare: BG J. Franklin Bell in the Philippines, 1901-1902* also provide insight into U.S. Army strategies, operations, and lessons learned during this period. All of these works offer examples of the U.S. Army conducting full spectrum operations but only over a limited time frame, and really do not discuss the civil support element of full spectrum operations which occurred later in the ensuing years and decades.¹²

A number of authors have focused on the two native military and security forces groups organized and commanded by American forces. The Philippine Scouts and the Philippine Constabulary were established to augment U.S. Army forces in the pacification of the Philippines and set the conditions for a secure environment in which a new Filipino democracy could develop and govern effectively and legitimately. Edward Coffman's "Batson of the Philippine Scouts" and Robert Y. Mihara's *Soldiers or Policemen: The Role of Indigenous Constabularies in the Philippines and Haiti* are examples of works related to the discussion of these important and noteworthy organizations. These pieces of literature are very important in understanding U.S. policies for the Philippine Government under American control and eventually under Filipino control, and provide examples of the U.S. Army conducting full spectrum operations and contributing to the success of the eventual Philippine Government.

¹² Brian Linn, *The Philippine War: 1899-1902* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Brian Linn, *The U.S. Army and Counterinsurgency in the Philippine War, 1899-1902* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1989); John Gates, *Schoolbooks and Krag's: The United States Army in the Philippines, 1898-1902* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press Inc., 1973); Robert Ramsey, *The Savage Wars of Peace: Case Studies of Pacification in the Philippines, 1900-1902* (Fort Leavenworth, Kansas: Combat Institute Press, 2007); Robert Ramsey, *A Masterpiece of Counterinsurgency Warfare: BG J. Franklin Bell in the Philippines, 1901-1902* (Fort Leavenworth, Kansas: Combat Institute Press, 2007); Edward Coffman, "Batson of the Philippine Scouts," *Parameters: Journal of the U.S. Army War College* 7, no. 3 (1977); Robert Y. Mihara, "Soldiers or Policemen: The Role of Indigenous Constabularies in the Philippines and Haiti," *Security Assistance: U.S. and International Perspectives: Proceedings of the Combat Institute 2006 Military History Symposium*, (2006).

All of the literature discussed provides insight into the U.S. involvement in the Philippines 1898-1941 and offer tremendous amounts of detail and research data. However, they do not attempt to examine or review the U.S. Philippine experience through the lens of current U.S. Army full spectrum doctrine, and how the U.S. Army waged a full spectrum conflict in the Philippines and transitioned to a territorial garrison force focused on defending the Philippines from a foreign military invasion. For the full spectrum operations and the U.S. involvement up to World War II, Brian Linn's *Guardians of Empire: The U.S. Army and the Pacific, 1902-1940* comes very close, but he presents his argument from more of a traditional military history viewpoint and not from a current U.S. Army doctrine perspective.

Chapter 1: 1898-1902 (Offense, Defense, Stability)

Offense	Defense
Stability	

The Philippine Islands is a large archipelago with thousands of islands and a multitude of ethnic and tribal groups. Most of these groups were family centric societies with a datu or chief as a leader, similar to Native American societies. In the sixteenth century Muslim pilgrims arrived from Indonesia and settled in the Mindanao and Sulu Archipelago region and initiated an Islamic culture and ideology. In 1521, Ferdinand Magellan and his Spanish compatriots arrived in the area, and initiated a Spanish colony with Christianity at its epicenter. For the next 376 years the majority of the Philippine Archipelago was a Spanish colony with the exception of the island of Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago in the southern portion of the Philippine Islands that contained the Muslim Moros (Spanish equated them to the Muslim Moors of Spain).¹³

In early 1898 tensions between Spain and the U.S. escalated after the U.S.S. Maine exploded by a supposed Spanish mine in Havana, Cuba on 15 February in which over 200 U.S. Sailors were killed. This traumatic event combined with the U.S. support for Cuban independence led to the U.S. declaring war on Spain in April 1898. As part of the American military offensive against Spain, President McKinley ordered Admiral Dewey and the U.S. Asian Fleet to attack and destroy the Spanish Fleet at Manila and

¹³ Ronald E. Dolan *Philippines: A Country Study* (Washington, D.C.: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1991), Chapter 1.

prepare for and support U.S. Army forces under Major General (MG) Wesley Merritt to capture the Philippine Islands from Spain. President McKinley's decision to attack Spanish forces and seize their colonies (Philippines, Cuba, and Puerto Rico) committed the U.S. Army to post conflict or stability operations almost immediately, and changed the dynamics of American foreign policy from that point forward. Furthermore, the U.S. Army changed from being an internal constabulary force to an expeditionary full spectrum force without the benefit of resources, doctrine, or training.¹⁴ This portion of U.S. involvement focused on offensive and defensive operations and only minimally on stability operations. The closest missions in the past the U.S. Army conducted to the Philippine Islands' operations were those involving the pacification and suppression of Native American tribes in the American western region. Despite the similarity and the experience U.S. Army officers, non-commissioned officers, and enlisted men had from the operations involving Native Americans, they were largely unprepared for nation building and security training (otherwise known as stability and civil support operations).

The Philippine Islands experienced Spanish Colonial rule for over 370 years, with the exception of the Moro tribes in Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago, and the Filipino peoples were subjects of Spanish law and the Roman Catholic Church. President McKinley's "Benevolent Assimilation" policy toward the Filipino peoples centered on instituting the American form of democracy with a bill of rights and a foundation in the rule of law. The main stipulation to President McKinley's policy of establishing a Filipino democracy and self-rule was the annexation of the Philippine Islands by the U.S. in the terms Treaty of Paris that ended the Spanish-American War in 1898. Additionally, this required the installation of American governance, with Filipino participation, until the authorized full transfer of authority to a new Filipino Government at an undetermined date in the future could be decided. This political policy led to periods of U.S. Military governance and eventual civilian governance via the Philippine

¹⁴ Birtle, *U.S. Army Counterinsurgency and Contingency Operations Doctrine 1860-1941*, 122.

Commission over the Philippine Islands. Furthermore, the civil-military relationship concerning governance of the Philippine Islands experienced a variety of positives and negatives centered on personalities, interpretations of power and responsibilities, and policies directed by the War Department and the President of the U.S.

The guidance given to Admiral Dewey and MG Merritt in the summer of 1898 by President McKinley stated that the mission was the “twofold purpose of completing the reduction of the Spanish power and of giving order and security to the islands while in possession of the U.S....by severance of the former political relations on the inhabitants and the establishment of a new political power.”¹⁵ President McKinley wanted the Filipinos treated fairly and humanely and sought their participation in creating a new democratic nation. MG Merritt and his successor MG Otis were given near absolute powers to secure, govern, and develop the Philippine Islands in accordance with the president’s policies and congressional mandates. The broad and unrestricted authority given to the military commanders on the ground enabled the U.S. Army to provide governance to the Filipino people and initiate stability and civil support operations.

MG Merritt’s 8th Corps succeeded in defeating the Spanish forces at the Battle of Manila on 13 August 1898 and began a delicate and volatile relationship with Filipino rebel leader Emilio Aguinaldo.¹⁶ MG Merritt issued a decree to reassure the Filipino people that the U.S. was not there to conquer the Philippines nor infringe on individual or religious rights, and American forces would work diligently to restore essential services and maintain law and order.¹⁷ This demonstrated the simultaneous conduct of offensive, defensive, and stability operations from the beginning of U.S. involvement in the archipelago. MG Elwell Otis succeeded MG Merritt in late August 1898 and the delicate situation with Aguinaldo’s

¹⁵ Ramsey, *Savage Wars of Peace*, 2.

¹⁶ Linn, *Guardians of Empire*, 9.

¹⁷ Ibid., 9; Gates, *Schoolbooks and Krags: The United States Army in the Philippines*, 56.

forces intermixed with U.S. forces in Manila continued. President McKinley directed the U.S. peace treaty delegation to request the annexation of the Philippines into the final version of the treaty. The Treaty of Paris was signed on 10 December 1898 with the U.S. in possession of the Philippine Islands, and as a result President McKinley released his “Benevolent Assimilation” policy on 21 December 1898 dictating his desires for American democratic rights and freedoms for the Filipino people with U.S. oversight for an unspecified period of time. The Treaty of Paris was ratified by the U.S. Senate in February 1899, but Aguinaldo formed his own government and held a constitutional convention in January 1899 and demanded a U.S. military withdrawal and recognition of him as the legitimate Filipino head of state with a newly formed government consisting of native citizens. The inability of Aguinaldo and the U.S. to agree upon the future of the Philippine Islands led to the Philippine War in February 1899.¹⁸

The intermingling of U.S. Army’s 8th Corps and Filipino forces of Aguinaldo’s Army of Liberation in and around Manila from August 1898 until February 1899, coupled with the differences of opinion on the future of the Philippine Islands, led to the initiation of hostilities following an encounter of U.S. Army soldiers on sentry duty in Manila and a Filipino patrol in the immediate vicinity.¹⁹ After initial contact and fighting in and around Manila in February, Otis and the 26,000 troops at his disposal conducted offensive operations to destroy the Filipino nationalist forces immediately and eliminate Aguinaldo’s government in the nearby city Malolos. Otis faced a growing need for more troops to garrison areas (and conduct stability operations) under U.S. control and maintain forces available to conduct offensive operations; however, he was unable to articulate this issue to President McKinley and the War Department and necessary reinforcements were not requested.²⁰ Aguinaldo’s forces were

¹⁸ Linn, *The Philippine War 1899-1902*, 55.

¹⁹ Gates, *Schoolbooks and Krags: The United States Army in the Philippines, 1898-1902*, 22; Linn, *Guardians of Empire*, 12.

²⁰ Linn, *The Philippine War, 1899-1902*, 89.

decisively defeated and by 31 March 1899 Malolos had been captured and Aguinaldo's government fled to avoid capture.

In January 1899, President McKinley established the Schurman Commission, headed by Jacob Schurman, the president of Cornell University, and included Admiral Dewey and MG Otis to review and study the Philippine Islands and make recommendations on how the U.S. should proceed with the annexation of the archipelago. The Schurman commission reported to the president that the Filipino peoples wanted independence and self-rule, but were not prepared to become independent due to their lack of understanding of a democratic government and having no experience with self-rule. Additionally, the Schurman Commission recommended the establishment of a government based on the U.S. model but instituted with U.S. supervision and guidance. They also suggested a constitution be drafted and eventually ratified by a Filipino legislative body in the near future. This commission laid the foundation for future U.S. governance policies and the political mandates to follow concerning the Philippine Islands.²¹ The stability task of support to governance became a critical task for the U.S. Army in the Philippines and laid the foundation for stability operations in the archipelago from 1899 through 1917.

President McKinley and Secretary of War Root decided to establish a new commission to provide civil governance for the Philippine Islands. The commission would consist of a governor and members serving as a legislative body to administrate the recently annexed U.S. territory. Their choice to head the commission and serve as the first civil governor was William Howard Taft, a Federal Judge in Ohio (and future president of the U.S.). Taft was a well respected judge and promoter of the vitality of the rule of law. He was well connected and the son of a former ambassador. He disapproved of the Philippine occupation but felt it was America's responsibility or "sacred duty" to establish law and order and

²¹ Ronald E. Dolan, *Philippines: A Country Study* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, the Library of Congress, 1991), Chapter 1.

promote democracy and self-rule for the Filipino people.²² He accepted President McKinley's offer in February 1900 and met the rest of the commission in March in Washington, D.C. The Second Philippine Commission was officially established on 16 March 1900 and would fall under the Secretary of War and the President of the U.S. The guidance given by Secretary of War Root, and approved by President McKinley, was to establish a "magna carta of the Philippines" and ensure the Filipinos understood that the U.S. Constitution guaranteed their individual liberty and freedom. The Second Philippine Commission was charged with establishing a Filipino Government and preparing the Filipinos for eventual self-rule. The maintenance of liberty and the adherence to the rule of law would be central to the new Filipino Government, and Second Philippine Commission would establish all levels of government under this pretense. The military governor, MG Arthur MacArthur, would cede civil authority to Governor Taft and the new governor would become the President's chief executive for the Philippine Islands.²³

MG Otis's next decided to launch a series of quick strike attacks (offensive operations) both south and north of Luzon. In April 1899 he sent MG Henry Lawton and approximately 2,000 troops via U.S. Navy vessels to conduct a raid in the Cavite, Laguna, and Batangas provinces south of Manila. MG Lawton's forces were successful but the decision was made by Otis for the areas secured by U.S. forces not be held and for all U.S. forces to return to the Manila area. This angered Lawton because as his forces withdrew revolutionary Filipino forces were observed reentering the areas previously occupied by the Americans. Despite a shortage of troops, Otis was able to demonstrate superior U.S. military capabilities and create indecision and frustration on the Filipino revolutionaries' part because they were unable to predict where the Americans would strike next and the accurately gauge U.S. military strength.²⁴ MG

²² Minger, *William Howard Taft and United States Foreign Policy*, 2.

²³ *Ibid.*, 23.

²⁴ Linn, *The Philippine War, 1899-1902*, 121.

MacArthur conducted limited offensive operations in April and May 1899 in the Pampanga province north of Luzon and Lawton performed similar operations in the nearby province of Bulacan. Both operations were able to achieve some success but no decisive victory over the Army of Liberation or capitulation by the rebel government; and, with the shortages of resources, primarily troop strength, the difficult terrain, severe hot and damp weather, and the mandatory redeployment of roughly 16,000 volunteer soldiers (and only 7,000 replacements) forced Otis to suspend operations and consolidate a defensive perimeter until reinforcements arrived and the weather improved.²⁵

At this time, Aguinaldo and his remaining forces elements of government withdrew into the jungle and hills of Luzon. Americans were forced to conduct offensive operations against an enemy waging a defensive campaign in jungles and hills during monsoon season, creating a difficult environment for the continuation of the U.S. attack and pursuit. The casualty rate for the American forces due to sickness rose sharply in April through June 1899. With the limited resources available, Otis suspended offensive operations to reconstitute and build combat power as more U.S. forces flowed into theater, and the U.S. forces went on the defensive for a short period of time. Aguinaldo and his nationalist leaders disagreed on strategy in the conflict with the Americans. Aguinaldo wanted to wage a guerrilla war but other key leaders felt a conventional fight would be the better course of action. They reached a compromise and a combination of irregular and regular warfare was adopted as the strategy to wage war against the U.S. forces. Aguinaldo continuously changed his strategy and approach as he deemed appropriate until his eventual capture in March 1901.²⁶

In March 1899 the U.S. Congress passed the Army Bill which raised the regular army personnel authorization to 65,000 and approved the raising of 35,000 volunteers for two years of service in the Philippine Islands. This new force of volunteers contained 25 infantry regiments and one regiment of

²⁵ David Silbey, *A War of Frontier and Empire: The Philippine-American War, 1899-1902* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2007), 113; Linn, *The Philippine War, 1899-1902*, 116.

²⁶ Linn, *The U.S. Army and Counterinsurgency in the Philippine War, 1899-1902*, 26.

cavalry and was led and commanded by regular army and state militia officers.²⁷ The U.S. Government was slowly recognizing the demands on the U.S. Army in the Philippines and would continue to legislate resources and support in the coming years. These new forces would not arrive in the Philippine theater of operations until November 1899, but upon arrival they provided Otis with the additional combat power necessary to pursue and decisively engage Aguinaldo and his Army of Liberation.

In June 1899, 8th Corps occupied areas north and south of Manila but were not arrayed in a continuous battle line. The Corps' troop disposition centered on battalion and company size units garrisoning villages and towns linked by road networks, telegraph lines, and patrols conducted by the units themselves. This maximized the amount of space Otis' forces could cover and prevented any large forces from infiltrating 8th Corps area of control. Otis' forces were conducting defensive and stability operations during this period, and found the simultaneous actions difficult to resource and perform. Coupled with the terrain, the enemy was able to use small units and bands to attack garrisons, cut telegraph lines, and ambush logistics convoys.²⁸ These types of threats and attacks led Otis to launch some small scale attacks to secure key areas and flanks of units in contact. The intense heat and constant monsoon rains added further difficulties to operations, morale, and the ability to sustain forces in the field. Operations on the islands of Panay, Cebu, and Negros (also known as the Visayas Islands) during the summer of 1899 were also limited in scope and results due to similar conditions the main forces on Luzon were facing. On 20 August 1899, Otis' commander of forces in Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago, BG John Bates, was able to negotiate an important agreement with the Sultan of Sulu, the primary Muslim ruler of the Moro tribes in the Southern Philippine Islands. The Sultan of Sulu recognized U.S. sovereignty of the Philippine Islands and in return the U.S. vowed to protect him from his enemies and promote free trade. This agreement allowed BG Bates to concentrate his forces at the

²⁷ Silbey, *A War of Frontier and Empire*, 97; Linn, *The U.S. Army and Counterinsurgency in the Philippine War, 1899-1902*, 14.

²⁸ Linn, *The Philippine War, 1899-1902*, 121.

Jolo, Zamboanga, and Siassi garrisons, and not have to occupy the entire Mindanao Island and Sulu archipelago.²⁹

With the arrival of reinforcements in October 1899, Otis planned and executed an offensive operation designed to crush the Army of Liberation and Aguinaldo's government and end the conflict. His plan consisted of a three-pronged attack with Lawton's 1st Division and MacArthur's 2nd Division advancing on parallel axis from Pampanga and Bulacan provinces north of Manila toward the Lingayen Gulf and BG Loyd Wheaton's Brigade conducting an amphibious landing around San Fabian in the Lingayen Bay to trap Aguinaldo's forces between the three columns. Otis would then reorient his forces to the south of Manila and attack the remaining revolutionary forces in the Tagalog provinces of Cavite, Laguna, Batangas, and Tayabas. He believed this would destroy all organized resistance and allow the U.S. Army to shift priority of effort and resources to stability and civil support operations throughout the Philippine Islands. Furthermore, Otis feared an insurgency or guerrilla movement potentially occurring after the main enemy conventional forces were defeated.³⁰

The three pronged attack was successful but Aguinaldo managed to escape into the mountain provinces of northeast Luzon. On 13 November 1899, Aguinaldo issued a directive to all his forces to abandon conventional operations and initiate guerrilla warfare. Aguinaldo divided Luzon into three zones (north, central, and southern Luzon), took command of one (northern) and placed MG Mariano Trias (southern) and MG Pantaleon Garcia (central) in command of the other two.³¹ Wheaton and Lawton's forces continued the pursuit of Aguinaldo but after hundreds of miles of marching and multiple amphibious landings in northeastern Luzon, the campaign in the north came to an end in early January 1900 with most of the populated area occupied but Aguinaldo still on the loose.³² However, Otis

²⁹ Ibid., 123.

³⁰ Silbey, *A War of Frontier and Empire*, 116; Linn, *The Philippine War, 1899-1902*, 141.

³¹ Linn, *The U.S. Army and Counterinsurgency in the Philippine War*, 16.

³² Linn, *Philippine War, 1899-1902*, 158.

continued his planned next phase of the operation with the attack south of Manila in January 1900.

Lawton was killed in action in December 1899 fighting northeast of Manila and Bates assumed command of the 1st Division. Bates was given the mission of attacking south of Manila in January 1900 and his two brigade commanders, Wheaton and BG Theodore Schwan, swept through the Tagalog provinces to destroy and defeat all remaining revolutionary forces.³³ Wheaton and Schwan conducted bold maneuver warfare and penetrated and occupied all the major cities and key terrain in the Tagalog provinces, but MG Trias and his revolutionaries rarely fought conventionally and were able to disperse and avoid destruction in order to wage guerrilla warfare for some time to come. The successful offensive operations did not lead to successful stability operations. In fact, the requirements to wage counterinsurgency operations broadened due to the occupation of additional Philippine territory, and required more resources. It would take more time and energy for the stability operations to demonstrate success, and set the conditions for improved security, governance, and infrastructure and economic growth.

The U.S. Army conducted similar offensive operations in the Visayas Islands of Panay and Negros in January 1900 and the ability of the revolutionaries to convert to guerrilla tactics quickly frustrated the U.S. forces and prevented any decisive engagements or outright destruction of revolutionary forces. Aguinaldo and his followers viewed the year 1900 as a decisive because of the presidential elections in the U.S., and he would plan his strategy for the new phase of the Philippine War with the intent of influencing the American electorate for a candidate that would recognize Filipino independence and initiate a withdrawal of all U.S. Forces. Aguinaldo believed that William J. Bryan and the Democratic Party were anti-imperialists and if elected they would demand what he and his Philippine Republic and the Army of Liberation followers desired.³⁴ Otis received a directive in early 1900 from the War Department to secure and occupy the ports in the hemp growing regions of the Philippine Islands

³³ Silbey, *A War of Frontier and Empire*, 132; Linn, *Philippine War, 1899-1902*, 162.

³⁴ Linn, *The U.S. Army and Counterinsurgency in the Philippine War*, 17.

(southeastern Luzon, the Visayas Islands of Leyte and Samar, and northern Mindanao) in order to ensure the hemp and its cordage was able to be exported to the U.S. for critical agricultural usages. Philippine hemp was viewed as the best in the world and the demand for it was high among U.S. farmers, and the U.S. Navy's blockade had severely limited the amount exported to the U.S. Furthermore, Aguinaldo and his revolutionaries were using the hemp trade to finance their insurrection.³⁵ The McKinley Administration realized this was a potential political disaster and might hinder the reelection of President McKinley and provide ample support for Democratic candidate William J. Bryan in the 1900 presidential election.

The required operation to seize and control the "hemp ports" demanded a large amount of resources and would stretch the capabilities and manpower Otis' 8th Corps possessed. Additionally, this led to the strategy of occupying a large portion of the Philippine Archipelago with a widely dispersed force and afforded the enemy numerous locations and areas to strike and affect.³⁶ Otis had already initiated his new stability operations plan for governance with the creation of the Office of the Military Governor and he realized that the entire Philippine Archipelago would have to be occupied and governed by U.S. Army forces; moreover, he believed this operation in the hemp regions enabled him to continue the expansion and development of the newly annexed U.S. territories known as the Philippine Islands. In January and February 1900, BG William Kobbe and BG James Bell conducted very successful joint offensive operations with the U.S. Navy to secure the hemp producing areas and their corresponding ports, and the Filipino revolutionaries continued the guerrilla tactics used in other areas of the archipelago. Otis's forces had most of the Philippine Islands under U.S. control and the Philippine War shifted from primarily offensive and defensive operations to predominantly stability operation including continuous guerrilla and counter-guerrilla warfare over most of the islands.

³⁵ Linn, *The Philippine War, 1899-1902*, 174.

³⁶ Silbey, *A War of Frontier and Empire*, 134; Linn, *The Philippine War, 1899-1902*, 175.

Otis used his knowledge and experience from Reconstruction and the American West to alter his organizational structure in order to meet the requirements of military governance of the Philippine Islands. On 20 March 1900, he inactivated the 8th Corps headquarters and its subordinate divisions and brigades and activated the Military Division of the Philippines (under his command) and established four subordinate departments based on geographic regions: Northern Luzon, Southern Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao-Jolo. Each department was further divided into districts and sub-districts.³⁷ Otis also created a parallel command structure to the Military Division of the Philippines with the establishment of the Office of the Military Governor (OMG). He was both the commanding general of the Military Division of the Philippines and the Military Governor of the Philippines. Furthermore, his subordinate commanders all the way down to the lowest detachment commander were likewise dual hatted.³⁸ This placed responsibilities and authority for civil and military affairs under one person from the national level down to the local level across the Philippine Islands.

Another department established by the Secretary of War was the Bureau of Insular Affairs. In December 1898 the Division of Customs and Insular Affairs was created as a subsidiary of the War Department, and in July 1902 was re-designated the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department.³⁹ This branch of the War Department was created to supervise islands and territories held by the U.S. Military. The War Department mandate for the Bureau of Insular Affairs states that its responsibilities include “all matters pertaining to civil government in the island possessions of the United States, subject to the jurisdiction of the War Department.”⁴⁰ Secretary of War Root stated that this department played an integral role in governing the Philippine Islands in conjunction with the President’s policies, War Department directives, and Philippine Commission activities. Furthermore, the unfamiliarity of

³⁷ Linn, *The Philippine War 1899-1902*, 198.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 199.

³⁹ Clarence R. Edwards, “The Work of The Bureau of Insular Affairs,” *National Geographic*, (June, 1904): 243.

⁴⁰ Elliot, *The Philippines*, 63.

governing colonial territories was a difficult challenge for the U.S. Government had not been done by the War Department since the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 (concerning governing California and New Mexico).⁴¹ Colonel (COL) Clarence Edwards, the Chief of Bureau of Insular Affairs in 1904, said that the department was a “clearing house for all questions between the government of the Philippine Islands and the government of the United States, and ensured all legislative requirements of Congress by the War Department and the government of the Philippines was properly presented.”⁴² A brigadier general or colonel headed the department and was authorized a small staff. In the early stages of U.S. involvement in the Philippine Islands, this department played a key coordination and administrative role and was active until the end of the Philippine Commission in 1917.

The Philippine Scouts were established by the U.S. Army in 1899 as means to recruit and utilize native auxiliaries to assist military operations in the Philippine Islands. 1LT Matthew Baston convinced BG Lawton and MG Otis to allow him to organize two companies of Filipino auxiliaries or scouts on an experimental basis in September 1899.⁴³ The U.S. Army had used Native Americans as scouts for over a century and understood the value, enhancement, and knowledge these indigenous warriors provided the American cause in the areas of local terrain, dialects, and culture. The Filipinos 1LT Baston encountered in May 1899 were Macabebes and he discovered this ethnic group had served the Spanish as auxiliaries and were enemies of the Tagalos. The Philippine Republic insurrection leader Aguinaldo and most of his lieutenants and insurrectos were Tagalos and incorporating the Macabebes as American allies appealed to the U.S. Army leadership.⁴⁴ 1LT Lawton’s Macabebe Scouts (later renamed Philippine Scouts) proved their worth many times over in combat with the insurrectos and impressed BG Lawton greatly, and as a result in October 1899 three more companies were requested to be recruited and resourced. The

⁴¹ Edwards, “The Work of The Bureau of Insular Affairs,” *National Geographic*, 242.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 245.

⁴³ Coffman, “Batson of the Philippine Scouts,” *Parameters: Journal of the U.S. Army War College*, 68.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 70; Linn, *The U.S. Army and Counterinsurgency in the Philippine War*, 25.

Macabebe Scouts were not enlisted in the U.S. Army initially, but were annotated as civilian employees of the U.S. Army Quartermaster Department and paid half of a regular or volunteer U.S. Army Soldier.⁴⁵

By 1901 50 companies (5,000 troops) of Philippine Scouts were actively serving the U.S. Army in the Philippine Archipelago, and with Secretary of War Root's backing they became soldiers of the regular U.S. Army. The Macabebes were one of many ethnic groups represented in the Philippine Scouts by 1901 and these native auxiliaries provided nearly 40 percent of U.S. Army strength in the Philippine Islands by 1903.⁴⁶ In 1903 an agreement was reached allowing the Philippine Constabulary to utilize Philippine Scouts as needed to conduct stability and civil support operations, and the practice would continue until the establishment of the Philippine Commonwealth in the 1930s.⁴⁷ The rebellious Filipino groups found the use of fellow Filipinos in the service of the Americans demoralizing and the native population became more comfortable with supporting the American pacification and establishment of democratic ideals at the local level.⁴⁸ Under U.S. Army leadership, the Philippine Scouts provided a reliable and highly capable fighting force for the American involvement in the Philippine Archipelago, and served alongside their American comrades until the end of World War II. The success of the Philippine Scouts enabled the U.S. Army to succeed in its full spectrum conflict, provided invaluable resources during the defensive preparations for potential foreign invasion in the 1920s, 30s, and 40s, and provided the basis for the future Filipino Army of the independent Philippine nation.

On 5 May 1900 MG Otis changed command with MG MacArthur and in June the Second Philippine Commission headed by William Howard Taft arrived to initiate the transfer of governing authority from the military to civilian leadership. MacArthur and Taft did not get along during their year together in the Philippines, and their relationship soured civil-military affairs in the Philippine Islands.

⁴⁵ Coffman, "Batson of the Philippine Scouts," *Parameters: Journal of the U.S. Army War College*, 71.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 72.

⁴⁷ Elliot, *The Philippines*, 179.

⁴⁸ Birtle, *U.S. Army Counterinsurgency and Contingency Operations Doctrine 1860-1941*, 116.

MacArthur believed that Taft and the Second Philippine Commission were a hindrance to his governorship and negatively influenced his authority. Taft countered by reiterating to MacArthur that his mandate from President McKinley and Secretary of War Root was to establish a civil government for the Philippine Islands and emplace a American civil governor to act as the president's chief executive for all matters in the archipelago. It took Secretary of War Root to clarify the relationship and ensure both parties understood that the military governor was in charge until the civil governor assumed his duties.

After MacArthur inherited overall military command and governorship of the Philippine Islands, he realized that Otis had overextended the U.S. forces throughout the archipelago; however, he understood that the war had shifted to a stability operation combating an insurgency and had to be approached in a fitting manner. He devised a plan to rid the islands of insurgents via an offer of amnesty in June 1900. MacArthur declared that if guerrilla fighters turned in their weapons and sworn allegiance to the U.S. they could return home unharmed and proceed with normal civilian life.⁴⁹ Unfortunately, only a little over 5,000 complied, and the insurgency continued and grew more vicious and determined. MacArthur continued most of Otis' governance policies and continued to rely on the general orders in place. He recognized the difficulties of providing governance, security, and conducting counterinsurgency operations was unfamiliar to most and difficult in general, and he knew Aguinaldo and his revolutionaries were keen on waging a brutal conflict in hopes of influencing the 1900 presidential elections. Otis had organized the Philippine Islands into four departments (Northern Luzon, Southern Luzon, the Visayas, and Mindanao and Jolo) and MacArthur maintained these for effective and efficient governance and command and control of the 116 posts and stations throughout the islands.⁵⁰ MacArthur

⁴⁹ Linn, *The U.S. Army and Counterinsurgency in the Philippine War*, 22.

⁵⁰ Ramsey, *Savage Wars of Peace*, 22.

commanded a force of approximately 70,000 troops during his tenure and this would be the peak of total U.S. Army forces in the Philippines.⁵¹

In September 1900 Aguinaldo's forces launched numerous attacks on Luzon and other islands in order to create the view of a war the Americans cannot win and should not be conducting. Aguinaldo hoped this strategy would be viewed in the U.S. as the reason to elect Democrat William J. Bryan and end the war in Philippines and allow the Filipinos to be independent. Despite the revolutionaries' best efforts, President McKinley was reelected in November and Aguinaldo's strategy to influence the American presidential elections had failed. MacArthur, with the approval of Secretary of War Root, declared martial law in December and used General Orders 100 as the guiding document (written and published in 1863 for the American Civil War).⁵² Furthermore, General Orders 100 made it clear that supporting or aiding guerrillas was illegal and would be severely punished and conducting guerrilla or insurgency warfare was punishable by death. The American military commander on sight had near absolute authority over the population he governed. MacArthur wanted to stress the importance of compliance to legal codes and the laws of war to the Filipino peoples and desired to separate the guerrillas from the common citizenry.⁵³ This declaration of authority and rule of law was necessary to pacify the indigenous population and lay the foundation for civil governance and peace throughout the islands.

The U.S. Army based its stability operations, duties, and policies on a series of General Orders. General Orders 100 or the Lieber Code published in 1863 during the American Civil War, was the most notable and provided a guiding central premise that the "occupier had a moral obligation to protect the people under its control from undue hardship and provide basic government services."⁵⁴ According to Andrew Birtle, General Orders 100 also reiterated the concept that U.S. Army commanders should not

⁵¹ Linn, *The U.S. Army and Counterinsurgency in the Philippine War*, 21.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 24.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁵⁴ Birtle, *U.S. Army Counterinsurgency and Contingency Operations Doctrine 1860-1941*, 101.

drastically change laws and customs of an occupied territory unless military necessity requires alterations. Otis and other senior U.S. Army officers used their experiences in the American Civil War, the Reconstruction period in the South, and activities in the American West as a guide to execute President McKinley's policies. Furthermore, he emphasized current U.S. Army doctrine stability operations focus areas such as civil support projects concerning education, rule of law, commerce, responsible government, and financial growth rather than more traditional military focus areas of offense and defense operations.⁵⁵ In August 1899, he issued General Orders 43 that stipulated the organization of local governments. He used a plan developed by BG Kobbe that stipulated each municipality would have a municipal council composed of a president, a vice president, and senior headman from each barrio or ward.⁵⁶ These directives issued by U.S. Army leaders in 1899 focused on the stability tasks of support to governance and economic and infrastructure development.

MacArthur and the Taft led Philippine Commission refocused on developing the local governments and incorporating Filipinos into local, provincial, and national governance positions. In early 1901 MacArthur and Taft worked with the principales or upper class to form the Filipino Federal Party to counter the guerrillas and promote loyalty amongst the Filipino people for American governance. These loyal Filipinos were able to eliminate guerrilla leader's strangle-hold on other principales and the ladrones or worker/farmer class at the local and provincial levels, more importantly the Filipino people recognized the Americans were more likely to win the conflict and accepted the promises of individual liberties, property rights, and eventual self-rule.⁵⁷ Additionally, MacArthur deported guerrilla leaders deemed too radical or unlikely to alter their views or intentions to Guam and also imprisoned convicted or captured guerrillas for the duration of the conflict.⁵⁸ In March 1901 BG Frederick Funston conducted a

⁵⁵ Linn, *The Philippine War 1899-1902*, 200.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 130.

⁵⁷ Linn, *The U.S. Army and Counterinsurgency in the Philippine War*, 25.

⁵⁸ Ramsey, *Savage Wars of Peace: Case Studies of Pacification in the Philippines*, 132.

covert operation with a small band of U.S. Army soldiers and Macabebe Scouts (later Philippine Scouts) and captured Aguinaldo in the Isabella Province in northern Luzon.⁵⁹ Emilio Aguinaldo later proclaimed allegiance to American sovereignty in the Philippine Islands. This act sent a strong signal to the revolutionary guerrillas to end their resistance and demonstrated the futility of continual resistance to American governance. However, this was not the end of resistance and many areas of the archipelago remained hostile for months and years to come.

On 4 July 1901 MG MacArthur ceded governorship of the Philippine Islands to William Taft (officially transferring governance from the U.S. Military to U.S. Government civilian authority) and command of U.S. Army Forces or the Military Division of the Philippines to MG Adna Chaffee. The change of leadership in the Philippine Islands affected governmental policies and military operations to some degree, but stability operations became more primary and the insurrection was still viable and violent. Areas in southern Luzon, the Visayas Islands, and Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago remained under military control and governance because they were not secure or pacified to allow civil governance to be effective and practical. MG Chaffee's directive from Secretary of War Root was to "divorce the army from civil functions so as to restore the Philippine army to military efficiency."⁶⁰ Chaffee recognized the disciplinary problems, lack of current military training, and the focus of efforts on civil governance had taken its toll on basic soldier skills and unit level capabilities in maneuver and tactics. His plan was to continue to turn over governance duties to the civil administrators of the Philippine Commission and reorganize the U.S. Army forces back into tactical units and conduct training and necessary counterinsurgency and combat operations. He reorganized the Military Division of the Philippines into two departments: the Department of the Northern Philippines (Luzon) under MG Wheaton and the Department of the Southern Philippines (remainder of the archipelago) under MG James

⁵⁹ Linn, *The U.S. Army and Counterinsurgency in the Philippine War*, 75.

⁶⁰ Linn, *The Philippine War, 1899-1902*, 218.

Wade. Furthermore, he organized all forces into seven separate brigades and they operated within the two departments as tactical units and not governance oriented departments or districts.⁶¹

In September 1901, a company of U.S. Soldiers was ambushed by guerrillas and 48 were killed near the town of Balangiga on the Visayas Island of Samar; and, guerrilla activity waged by revolutionary leaders Miguel Malvar and Pedro Caballes in the southern Luzon provinces of Batangas, Laguna, and Tayabas was becoming uncontrollable. This caused a violent reaction by the U.S. chain of command and Chaffee directed MG Jacob H. Smith to destroy the insurrectos on Samar and MG J. Franklin Bell to defeat and pacify the revolutionary forces of Milvar and Caballes in southern Luzon.⁶² Both offensive oriented campaigns were successful in defeating and destroying resistance and insurrection (all main guerrilla leaders were captured and recognized U.S. sovereignty), but the style of warfare waged by MG Smith and MG Bell were extremely harsh on the local populous and caused a great deal of destruction to crops and animals. Both commanders conducted brutal counterinsurgency campaigns and investigations and accusations of mistreatment and the commitment potential war crimes were levied against them.⁶³ After a U.S. Senate inquiry, BG Smith was court martialed and five of his subordinates were tried for war crimes. These events produced speculation in the American press and public that the U.S. Army was conducting criminal atrocities and a race war and that these actions were sanctioned by the civilian leadership.⁶⁴ However, the reported rampant occurrence of war crimes was excessively blown out of proportion, and the U.S. Government had to endure years of accusations. It was later proven that U.S. Army Soldiers were no more misbehaved then previous or future wars.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Ibid., 219.

⁶² Robert D. Ramsey, *A Masterpiece of Counter guerrilla Warfare: BG J. Franklin Bell in the Philippines, 1901-1902*, 5.

⁶³ Linn, *The Philippine War, 1899-1902*, 219.

⁶⁴ Linn, *The U.S. Army and Counterinsurgency in the Philippine War*, 27.

⁶⁵ Linn, *The Philippine War, 1899-1902*, 220.

As these offensive operations went on, the Spooner Amendment of 2 March 1901 provided the congressional authority for the War Department to establish a civil government, and on 4 July 1901 Taft succeeded MacArthur and become the U.S. Governor of the Philippine Islands.⁶⁶ From then on, Governor Taft had direct control over civil affairs in the Philippine Islands and the commander of the Military Division of the Philippines reported to him directly. MG Adna Chaffee replaced MG MacArthur as the commander of the Military Division of the Philippines on 4 July 1901. The Philippine Commission (Second) became the legislative branch of Governor Taft's new administration, and the building of a new Filipino government began.

Governor Taft and the Philippine Commission continued the stability operations and governance work begun by the U.S. Army and initiated the first semblance of Filipino self-rule via the addition of three Filipinos to the Philippine Commission. This angered some American and European politicians and businessmen, but Taft had the support of Secretary of War Root and President McKinley. Furthermore, by adding Filipino leaders to the Commission it provided invaluable insight and experience for both Americans and Filipinos in working together for the common goal building a new democratic Filipino nation capable of eventual self-rule. Governor Taft also reorganized the Philippine Commission into four primary departments to improve and focus on key administrative duties: Commerce and Police, Finance and Justice, Interior, and Public Instruction.⁶⁷ MG Chaffee and the Military Division of the Philippines were reoriented to conducting stability operations and pacifying the Philippine Islands and fighting insurgents and brigands throughout the archipelago, but the inauguration of the Taft Administration did not eliminate the U.S. Army from conducting stability or civil support operations. The U.S. Army was still responsible for areas not pacified or secured for American and Filipino civil governance to be initiated, and in some areas like Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago that would be many years away.

⁶⁶ Minger, *William Howard Taft and United States Foreign Policy*, 48.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 70.

Stability operations remained the focus to establish and maintain civil security, support local governance, and support economic and infrastructure development.

The Taft Administration initiated a series of legislation to lay the foundation of a legitimate and functioning government. The Civil Service Act established a civil service system for all government employees and the Judiciary Act and Code of Procedure established the court system. The General School Law was passed by the Philippine Commission and this authorized around one thousand American teachers to enter the Philippines and instruct Filipino children and train Filipino teachers.⁶⁸ Governor Taft created a Supreme Court with seven judges: a Filipino chief justice, three Filipino judges, and three American judges. The governor and the commission had the authority to appoint and remove judges.⁶⁹ Various other departments and agencies were established to permit functional and quality governance and oversight for the new American territory. One of the most important was the creation of a state paramilitary security force known as the Philippine Constabulary.

In July 1901 the Philippine Commission authorized the establishment of the Philippine Constabulary under U.S. Army Captain (CPT) Henry T. Allen.⁷⁰ Its mission was to be the security arm of the Philippine Commission and relieve the burden on the regular U.S. Army forces. The Spanish had maintained a similar organization the Guardia Civil under its colonial rule to assist Spanish civilian and military leaders in the suppression of bandits and rebels.⁷¹ CPT Allen's Philippine Constabulary was charged with conducting state police operations and maintaining law and order in areas under the Philippine Commission's control; moreover, regular U.S. Army officers and soldiers were used initially to provide leadership and command and control, and former soldiers became more prevalent in the years to come. The establishment of the Philippine Constabulary was an example of civil support operations

⁶⁸ Elliot, *The Philippines*, 7.

⁶⁹ Minger, *William Howard Taft and United States Foreign Policy*, 77.

⁷⁰ Linn, *Guardians of Empire*, 19.

⁷¹ Elliot, *The Philippines*, 7.

(and stability operations) because the U.S. Army conducted the tasks of support to civil law enforcement in a U.S. territory. Conflicts arose with quality and training of Filipino recruits and the interrelations with the U.S. Army and their auxiliary force known as the Philippine Scouts (Filipino soldiers working for and with the U.S. Army). Tensions over responsibilities and areas of jurisdiction between these organizations were a constant issue for the Philippine Commission and the Military Division of the Philippines to deconflict and ensure interoperability.⁷² The Philippine Constabulary expanded to 7,500 men by 1903 and Allen continued to increase their responsibilities and areas of operations.

Governor Taft and the Philippine Commission divided the Philippine Islands into provinces and municipalities and through the Provincial Government Law and the Municipal Government Act they established the template and design for Filipino self-governance. At the municipal level, the positions of president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, and council were established; however, the secretary and treasurer would be Americans and the rest, including the legislative council, would be Filipinos. Taft believed this set up would allow American oversight and provide the Filipinos a working political education in local governance.⁷³ The provincial governments included a governor, secretary, fiscal or legal officer, treasurer, and supervisor, and a legislative body known as a provincial board (made up of the governor, treasurer, and secretary). Governor Taft and Philippine Commission appointed the provincial governors at first, but eventually they were selected by the municipal councils within each province at their meetings in the provincial capital.⁷⁴ Governor Taft informed the Filipino people that he would prosecute anyone, American or Filipino that illegally used their positions in municipal or provincial government to the fullest extent of the law. This was drastically different from the very corrupt and indifferent Spanish Colonial Government.

⁷² Linn, *Guardians of Empire*, 19.

⁷³ Minger, *William Howard Taft and United States Foreign Policy*, 79.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 78.

Despite continuous stability operations and ongoing guerrilla and insurrection activity in the Philippine Islands, President Theodore Roosevelt declared the Philippine War over on 4 July 1902 and thanked the U.S. Army for its role in securing the Philippine Islands and pacifying local resistance.⁷⁵ The official Philippine War lasted over three years and cost 4, 200 military deaths, over 2,800 wounded, and required 126, 500 troops. Furthermore, Filipino losses included nearly 20,000 guerrillas killed and approximately 34,000 Filipino civilians killed (an additional 200, 000 Filipinos died during a cholera outbreak in 1902 though this figure is in dispute).⁷⁶ The U.S. Government spent approximately \$400 million during the 1899-1902 period in the Philippine Islands and would continue to spend hundreds of millions more in the years and decades to come.⁷⁷ The Philippine War had been officially declared over, but insurrection and counterinsurgency warfare continued to be waged for over ten years in some areas (most notably Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago) of the Philippine Islands. The main emphasis of the U.S. Army and the U.S. Government's efforts was conducting stability operations in order to build a new Philippine Government with a strong American style democracy and preparing the Filipinos for eventual self rule.

In the 1898-1902 period of U.S. Army involvement, offensive, defensive and stability operations occurred simultaneously but in varying degrees of emphasis, effort, and commitment of resources. Initially, commanders focused on offensive and defensive operations but gradually included stability operations to address an insurgency and provide support to governance, civil security, and economic and infrastructure development. The commanding generals during this phase (Merritt, Otis, MacArthur, and Chaffee) all had to utilize offensive and defensive operations to set the conditions for stability operations to be successful, but had to initiate and maintain stability operations while offensive and defensive

⁷⁵ Linn, *Philippine War, 1899-1902*, 219.

⁷⁶ Ramsey, *Savage Wars of Peace: Case Studies of Pacification in the Philippines*, 103.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 103.

operations were still ongoing. The U.S. Army reached its maximum personnel strength of approximately 70,000 troops during this phase and upon completion of successful offensive and defensive operations, a shift to primarily stability operations took place. After President Roosevelt's declaration of the end of the Philippine War, troop levels began to steadily decrease, but stability operations and limited offensive and defensive operations were still required and necessary for years to come due to the immaturity and instability of the region.

Chapter 2: 1902-1907 (Stability, Civil Support, Offense)

Stability	Offense
	Civil Support

The U.S. Congress and Governor Taft discussed and debated the concept of establishing a bicameral legislature for the Philippine Islands in 1901. Governor Taft reiterated his preference for a Philippine Assembly, comprised of popularly elected Filipino citizens, as the lower house and the existing Philippine Commission as the upper house. After a debate in Congress, a law was passed on 1 July 1902 authorizing a bicameral legislature to be established per Governor Taft's plan, but a series of requirements had to be met prior to popular elections being held for the Philippine Assembly. The Congressional law dictated three conditions prior to an election: a satisfactory condition of peace and stability verified by the American Governor in the Archipelago, the conduction and publishing of a national Philippine census, and a period of two years following the census of satisfactory peaceful conditions verified by the President of the U.S.⁷⁸ Congress also stipulated that the Philippine Assembly would not include members from the Moros or other non-Christian tribes until further notice, and that the Philippine Commission would retain sole legislative jurisdiction over these peoples until a decision to integrate them was approved. The first condition was met in September 1902, the census was completed in March 1905, and the president authorized elections to be held in July 1907 (the election was held on 30 July 1907).⁷⁹ The

⁷⁸ Elliot, *The Philippines*, 15.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 16.

focus of the U.S. Army transitioned from stability to civil support operations by 1907 in most of the Philippine Islands. However, the U.S. Army maintained a stability centric mission in the Moro Province due to the insecurity of the area and the volatile ongoing insurrection in this region of the archipelago, and would not transition to civil support operations for another decade.

Despite President Roosevelt's declaration of the end of hostilities on 4 July 1902, a guerrilla war continued in many areas of the Philippine Islands requiring extensive stability operations. Parts of Luzon, the islands of Leyte, Samar, Panay, and Mindoro, and the island Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago saw continued insurrection against American control and governance. The conflict on Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago, the longest and most brutal campaign, lasted until 1935 (U.S. Army led actions ended in 1913) and exposed the U.S. Army, Philippine Constabulary, and Philippine Scouts to a long and savage insurgency and required a long duration of stability operations. The areas of Philippine Islands that remained in conflict were delegated to the U.S. Army for command, control, and governance (stability operations) by the Philippine Commission until they were pacified and rendered safe for civil governance and oversight. Furthermore, stability and civil support operations were the main effort during this period.

Following BG Smith's campaign in Samar and BG Bell's campaign in Batangas in early 1902, the U.S. Army and its counterparts the Philippine Constabulary and the Philippine Scouts waged stability operations to defeat an insurgency on the islands Leyte and Samar against the Pulajans peoples and the Moro tribes on the island of Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago. Colonel (COL) Cary Crockett of the Philippine Constabulary led the stability effort to pacify and eliminate the Pulajans insurrection on Leyte and Samar in 1904 and into 1905; however, the Philippine Constabulary and the Philippine Scouts met stiff resistance and took serious casualties. In 1904, President Theodore Roosevelt was running for reelection and did not want trouble in the Philippines surfacing during the presidential campaign and making his declaration of the end of hostilities two years prior appear untruthful and premature.⁸⁰ The

⁸⁰ Roth, *Muddy Glory*, 102.

Philippine Commission made the decision to send in regular U.S. Army forces to assist COL Crockett in suppressing the Pulajans and restoring stability to the area. In January 1905, BG Henry T. Allen (formerly U.S. Army CPT), commander of all Philippine Constabulary forces in the Philippine Islands, was also ordered to Samar to take overall charge of the joint operations (U.S. Army, Philippine Constabulary, and Philippine Scouts). BG Allen and COL Crockett encountered stiff resistance and sustained moderate casualties, both Allen and Crockett were wounded in action, and by May 1905 BG Allen recommended that Samar be divided into areas of responsibility. He recommended that the U.S. Army take charge of the volatile eastern zone and the Constabulary and Scouts take the more peaceful western zone.⁸¹

The U.S. Army forces under CPT Cromwell Stacy soundly defeated Pulajans insurgents in June 1905 and Philippine Constabulary and Scout forces under First Lieutenant (1LT) George Helfert smashed Pulajans rebels in August 1905 in their respective areas of operation on Samar. These successful offensive operations severely hindered the Pulajans guerrillas' capabilities and they were forced to seek peace terms. On 24 March 1906, a Pulajans leader named Nasario Aguilar brought his 130 warriors to the Constabulary post at Magtaon for a surrender ceremony but then proceeded to lead an attack on the Constabulary forces under CPT Ralph Jones and escaped into the jungle. The Constabulary forces suffered over 80% casualties and the insurrection of the Pulajans continued for another two years.⁸² In August 1906, Philippine Governor Henry C. Ide, MG Leonard Wood, Philippine Division Commander, and other U.S. Army and Philippine Constabulary commanders met on Leyte to discuss the Pulajans insurrection on Leyte and Samar. By January 1907, The U.S. Army, Constabulary, and Scout forces had captured or killed most of the Pulajans rebel leaders, and severely attrited Pulajans combat power. The Pulajans conflict came to an end in the summer of 1907, and the islands of Leyte and Samar were

⁸¹ Ibid., 108.

⁸² Ibid., 109.

gradually stabilized and civil support operations began in 1908 with assistance from the Philippine Constabulary.⁸³

The Moro tribes on the island of Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago were defiant and resilient Muslim peoples dedicated to their faith and culture. They resisted outside influence and were renowned for their anti-Christian stance and hatred. The radical religious zealots of the Moro tribes conducted a suicidal or kamikaze style attack known as juramentado on anyone deemed an infidel (mainly Christians) and killed as many as possible before they were killed or stopped.⁸⁴ The shock and savagery of the juramentado created insecurity and fear among Christian Filipinos, Westerners, and U.S. Army Soldiers. The increase in such activities eventually led to further U.S. Army involvement in stability operations in the region.

The Moros' society centered on a tribal tradition and each tribe was ruled and lead by a datu or chief. They also organized their tribal areas similar to feudal Europe by constructing fortifications or cottas (similar to castles) to protect their territory and concentrate combat power for offensive and defensive operations. They constantly warred amongst themselves as well as foreign incursions by the Spanish and Americans. The regional and local sultans, rajahs, or datos only had as much influence as their military might could enforce. The Spanish had only minimally pacified areas along the coast, and never made much progress in the interior portions of Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago. The U.S. Army would approach the Moro tribes similarly to the Native American tribes of the American West, and aimed to pacify the region and instill a democratic government at the local and provincial levels.

The Bates Agreement with the Sultan of Sulu in August 1899 had been the basis for U.S. Army and the Philippine Commission policy towards the Moro tribes, and allowed the Americans to occupy key

⁸³ Ibid., 117.

⁸⁴ Birtle, *U.S. Army Counterinsurgency and Contingency Operations Doctrine 1860-1941*, 159.

areas along the coast regions without having to garrison the interior with large numbers of troops. This limited the area requiring stability operations, and reduced the necessity of conducting offensive operations to defeat enemy forces or seize and control large areas of land and key terrain. The datos maintained control over their tribes and were not supposed to interfere with American governance or policies. Naturally rifts began to emerge and the Moros became rebellious and forced the Philippine Commission to reconsider its policy in the region. On 1 July 1903 the Moro Province was established by the Philippine Commission and placed in charge of the U.S. Army's MG Leonard Wood as the military governor. MG Wood officially took command of all U.S. Army forces in the region and assumed the duties of the military governor on 6 August 1903.⁸⁵ After a few days in the department headquarters at Zamboanga, he took a battalion size force and proceeded to the island of Jolo to meet the Sultan of Sulu and to conduct a reconnaissance of his new area of operations.

Wood discovered that the Sultan of Sulu was a mere figurehead and had no real political power to enforce the Bates agreement. Upon his return to Zamboanga, Wood began to implement changes in the stability operations as he deemed necessary. Furthermore, he believed the local and provincial governance is inadequate and proceeded to implement the Moro Council in September 1903. The Moro Council consisted of the governor, state attorney, secretary, treasurer, superintendent of schools, and an engineer and eventually a similar organization was planned for the municipal level.⁸⁶ Wood decided that most municipal dwellings did not possess enough educated people to form a government and it would take time to incorporate Christian, Muslim, and Pagan representation into most of the local governmental structures. In January 1904 Wood recommended that the Bates Agreement be abrogated or discontinued because the Moro peoples were radical Muslim pirates, thieves, and highwaymen who could not be faithful or loyal to American or indigenous governmental structures. Wood believed the Moros had to be pacified before

⁸⁵ Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood: A Biography*, 5.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 16.

they could contemplate loyalty or peace to infidel peoples.⁸⁷ Newly appointed Secretary of War Taft and President Roosevelt agreed with Wood and the Bates agreement is officially disavowed.

Wood continued stability operations by tackling land redistribution and decides to provided land to all wanting to accept ownership, and he ensured that *datos* and tribal leaders received more land to preserve their prestige and rightful place in Moro society. On 24 September 1903, Wood enacted a law stipulating the “possession of slaves, their sale or their purchase alike, to be crimes punishable by imprisonment for not more than twenty years and a fine up to one thousand pesos.”⁸⁸ Wood’s goal was to steadily inculcate the local inhabitants with American democratic principles and establish a viable legal system based on the rule of law. He organized the Mindanao and Sulu Archipelago region into 5 districts and delegates responsibilities to local chiefs or *datos* and lesser chiefs as deputies to the *datos*, but believed the Moros would need American oversight for a long time before they were ready for self rule.⁸⁹ Wood also devoted time to developing industry and agriculture in the region and believed if Moro goods could be brought to markets and sold to various customers and merchants, then the internal violence would subside. He established the Moro Exchange in Zamboanga and invited numerous merchants from various nations to attend. The exposure to international markets enabled Moro goods to be sold and exported abroad, developed the commercial infrastructure of the region for the benefit of the Moro people, and strengthened U.S. control via pacification and governance. These stability and civil support tenants enabled MG Wood to implement Philippine Commission and U.S. policy towards rebuilding the Philippine Islands in the image American democracy.

In February 1906, Moro rebels revolted in large numbers and nearly 800 Moro warriors occupied the cotta at Bud Dajo on the island of Jolo. MG Wood dispatched U.S. Soldiers to quell the rebellion and

⁸⁷ Ibid., 37; Jack McCallum, *Leonard Wood: Rough Rider, Surgeon, Architect of American Imperialism* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 219.

⁸⁸ Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood: A Biography*, 17.

⁸⁹ McCallum, *Leonard Wood: Rough Rider, Surgeon, Architect of American Imperialism*, 218; Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood: A Biography*, 48.

restore order. The Moro warriors refused to surrender and a U.S. Army led offensive operation was directed to destroy the Moro forces. The American attack resulted in heavy casualties on the Moros and their families that refused to evacuate before the battle (over 600 killed), and Wood faced some tough political pressure to justify the large number of dead.⁹⁰ President Roosevelt and Governor Taft maintained support of Wood's action and the positive results gained during his tenure as governor. The operation was a success and the rebellion was suppressed for the time being. The Moros were far from pacified and the region still required U.S. Army Soldiers working with Philippine Scouts and the Philippine Constabulary to provide security and stability. MG Tasker Bliss replaced MG Wood soon after the Battle of Bud Dajo, and MG Wood assumed command of the Philippine Division in Manila (and all U.S. Army forces in the Philippine Islands) and continued with the focus on stability operations.

The 1902-1907 phase of U.S. Army operations in the Philippine Islands focused primarily on stability operations to train, mentor, and prepare the Filipino people for self rule and governance. Limited offensive operations were used to defeat insurgent groups and civil support operations began with the founding and usage of the Philippine Constabulary and the maintenance and restoration of local government by the Philippine Commission. Stability, civil support, and offensive operations occurred simultaneously but with varying degrees of emphasis. Insurgencies continued throughout the archipelago and forced the Americans to wage stability and counterinsurgency operations to support civil security, governance, and economic and infrastructure development at the national, provincial, and local levels and prevent the insurgents from hindering these vital operations. The Philippine Commission under Governor Taft and his successors steadily prepared and incorporated the Filipinos at all level of governance. The creation of the Philippine Constabulary provided a national or state police organization and provided the Americans the ability to support, enhance, and enable provincial and local law enforcement. The

⁹⁰ Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood: A Biography*, 65.

Constabulary conducted a mix of stability and civil support tasks to provide support to governance, civil security, economic and infrastructure development, and civil law enforcement.

Chapter 3: 1907-1917 (Stability, Civil Support, Offense)

Stability	Offense
	Civil Support

In late 1906, MG Tasker Bliss altered course in dealing with the Moro tribes by relying more on the Philippine Constabulary for stability operations and engaging insurgent groups, and focused more on economic and educational development.⁹¹ He used the U.S. Army as more of a reserve stability and security force and did not conduct campaigns or long marches to actively engage recalcitrant Moro warriors and bandits. Bliss desired pacification and transfer of governance to civil authorities as soon as possible, and believed his strategy of empowering the Constabulary and local *datos* to be the dominate security, law enforcement, and governing agencies would foster Moro and Filipino acceptance and loyalty to the American form of democracy. The Moro and Filipino people needed to see their own people as the face of the government in order to adopt and recognize the legitimacy of the American system, and eventually operate and conduct self-rule and governance.⁹²

⁹¹ Linn, *Guardians of Empire*, 40.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 40.

BG John J. Pershing replaced MG Bliss on 11 November 1909 as military governor of the Moro Province.⁹³ BG Pershing served three separate tours of duty in the Philippines in 1899-1903 as a 1LT and CPT, 1907-1908 as a BG (promoted from CPT to BG in 1906), and finally as a BG and military governor 1909-1913 in the Moro Province. His unprecedented promotion from CPT to BG was very unpopular among those senior to him, but Pershing proved himself very capable of handling the challenges of higher responsibilities in his role as military governor. BG Pershing also demonstrated a tremendous ability to learn about the Moro tribes and their political, social, and cultural traditions and use this knowledge to build partnerships, respect, and admiration from Moro datos, leaders, and people alike.⁹⁴

Pershing believed in winning over the Moro leaders in order to gain the support of the people and increase the likelihood of successful pacification and acceptance of American democratic governance.⁹⁵ In September 1901 as a CPT, he was given command of a regimental size force by BG Kobbe, commanding general of the Mindanao-Jolo Department, at Iligan on the north central coast of Mindanao. His mission was to befriend and pacify the Moro peoples in and around Lake Lanao.⁹⁶ In 1902 CPT Pershing waged a series of campaigns against the Moro tribes around Lake Lanao that established his strategy of demonstrating military superiority and firepower but willing to suspend military operations to engage Moro leaders and negotiate peaceful settlements to disputes. Pershing's strategy forced Moro datos to send overtures for peace and some tribes even fly American flags to demonstrate their loyalty (Pershing provided the flags). Pershing limited the destructiveness to Moro property and lands and has his Soldiers pay for goods and services and as a result he earns the respect of Moro datos and tribal leaders. Pershing's 1902 campaigns were very successful, but even his achievements did not pacify the

⁹³ Donald Smythe, *Guerrilla Warrior: The Early Life of John J. Pershing*, 144.

⁹⁴ Ibid, 68; Frank Vandiver, *Black Jack: The Life and Times of John J. Pershing* (College Station, Texas: Texas A&M University Press, 1977), 267.

⁹⁵ Smythe, *Guerrilla Warrior: The Early Life of John J. Pershing*, 69.

⁹⁶ Vandiver, *Black Jack: The Life and Times of John J. Pershing*, 263; Smythe, *Guerrilla Warrior: The Early Life of John J. Pershing*, 65.

Moro tribes and stabilize the area for transfer of authority over to civil governance. As most American Military commander's realized, the Moro tribes would be a difficult society to change and accept democratic principles of governance and personal freedoms.

As the last military governor of Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago, BG Pershing set the conditions from 1909-1913 for a transition to civil control under the Philippine Commission in Manila. He realized the interior of Moro country had to be penetrated, pacified, and incorporated into the governing structure of the community in order for American and eventual Filipino and Moro rule to be successful and stable. Pershing continued social and economic reform via labor laws, prison reform, land ownership laws, and infrastructure development. Schools, hospitals, clinics, roads, telegraph lines, and even newspapers were enhanced, built, or founded all throughout the area to connect and facilitate control and governance of the department.⁹⁷ Pershing also worked diligently to continue development of industrial and economic markets for Moro and Filipino goods and services following the lead of previous governors Wood and Bliss. In 1911 Pershing and Governor Forbes in Manila agreed to slowly integrate transference of duties to American civil service employees from military officers in the Moro Province. This coupled with the Philippine Constabulary and Philippine Scouts taking more of the stability operations responsibilities from the U.S. Army, started the process of transferring governorship to the civil authorities of the Philippine Commission and the Governor of the Philippines.

In 1911 Pershing decided to disarm the Moros to suppress the Moros desire for juramentado and basic lawlessness. MG Bell, Philippine Division commander, and MG Wood, U.S. Army Chief of Staff, and COL James Harbord, Chief of the Philippine Constabulary, disagreed with Pershing's plan to disarm the Moros, but on 8 September 1911 Pershing signed Executive Order 24 outlawing possession of a firearm or cutting weapon.⁹⁸ By December 1911 it was apparent that the Moros would not surrender their

⁹⁷ Smythe, *Guerrilla Warrior*, 151.

⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 165.

weapons peacefully, and U.S. Army, Philippine Constabulary, and Philippine Scouts forces maneuvered on Jolo Island to confront the main renegades and culprits. The traditional mountain cotta or fortress of Bud Dajo was the focal point of the Moro resistance movement and a siege of the fortress was initiated in mid December. Unlike MG Wood's Bud Dajo campaign in 1906, BG Pershing's 1911 offensive operations version ended without much loss of life (no American and only 12 Moros) and over 300 prisoners were captured (including women and children). Pershing restraint and patience enabled a near bloodless resolution in favor of the Americans, and demonstrated his strategy as appropriate and highly successful to American military and civilian commanders and leaders.⁹⁹

The successful Battle of Bud Dajo in December 1911 did not end Moro resistance to Pershing's disarmament executive order, and by early 1913 Moro rebels were attacking U.S. forces in Mindanao and Jolo. In June 1913 Pershing maneuvered 4 companies of Philippine Scouts (reinforced by two U.S. Army companies) to Jolo and surrounded the Moro cotta or fortress at Bud Bagsak.¹⁰⁰ However, Pershing was unable to conduct a bloodless offensive battle similar to Bud Dajo eighteen months earlier. The terrain and the resilience and defiance of the enemy contributed to a bloody engagement resulting in 500 plus Moro dead and 15 American and friendly Moro or Filipino dead. The Moros were soundly defeated and their resistance severely crippled, and they would not assemble a similar size force again against American or fellow Moro or Filipino forces. Pershing faced public scrutiny of his campaign in the American press, but like Wood in 1906 after the bloody Battle of Bud Dajo, he received endorsements and support from his military and civilian chain of command. This marked the end of most organized resistance to American authority (there would be other uprisings or rebellions but not of this magnitude) in the Moro Province, and in November 1913 Frank Carpenter succeeds BG Pershing as governor in 1913

⁹⁹ Vandiver, *Black Jack: The Life and Times of John J. Pershing*, 539; Smythe, *Guerrilla Warrior*, 174.

¹⁰⁰ Linn, *Guardians of Empire*, 48.

ending military rule over the Moro Province.¹⁰¹ By 1913, the U.S. Army had waged stability operations in the Philippine Islands for more than ten years, and had been greatly successful over that period. This effectively ended the American pacification of the Philippine Islands.¹⁰² Stability tasks were primarily conducted by the American led and supervised Philippine Constabulary and Philippine Scouts from 1907 onward, and the U.S. Army's role shifted to a supporting effort in stability operations. By 1914 all U.S. Army Soldiers were garrisoned on Luzon and did not maintain a permanent presence anywhere else in the Philippine Archipelago. The Philippine Constabulary and Philippine Scouts remained in force throughout the islands as the primary security and law enforcement force. Furthermore, the U.S. Army became more focused on civil support operations, mainly via the Philippine Constabulary, dedicated to assisting the developing Philippine Government, garrisoning the Philippines as a strategic base, and developing defensive plans and infrastructure to defend the Philippine Archipelago from foreign (most likely Japanese) invasion.

On 30 July 1907 104, 966 Filipinos voted in the first general election for selection of the Philippine Assembly comprised of native Filipinos, and ushered in a sense of self-rule and independence for the Filipino people. The Philippine Assembly was the lower house of the new bicameral government, but the Philippine Commission (with an American Governor and American majority of members) was the upper house and held most of the governing power. On 11 October 1907 the new Philippine Legislature consisting of both houses convened for the first time and was ceremonially opened by current Secretary of War and the first American Governor of the Philippine Islands William Howard Taft. He advocated the creation of the Philippine Assembly back in 1901 and believed it was an integral part of preparing the Filipinos for self rule.¹⁰³ Taft's position met opposition from some American politicians and leaders

¹⁰¹ Smythe, *Guerrilla Warrior*, 157.

¹⁰² Linn, *Guardians of Empire*, 42.

¹⁰³ Elliot, *The Philippines*, 18.

because of the potential rebelliousness it would cause amongst the Filipinos, and such an independence movement might cripple American governance and control. The Filipinos established various political parties during the 1907 election period, and some favored immediate independence (Nacionalista Party) and others desired independence in the future but were content with American sovereignty and control for the near future (Progresista Party).¹⁰⁴ President Roosevelt concurred with Taft's vision of eventual Filipino self-rule and independence, but believed it would take decades before the Filipinos were prepared and capable of self-government and independence.

The new Philippine Legislature was hindered by squabbles over legislative powers and control between the two houses. The Philippine Assembly was envious of the legislative authority conducted by the Philippine Commission, and desired equal or superior political capability. In 1908 two Filipino members were added to the Philippine Commission leaving the Americans with a one member majority. In early 1909 President Taft ensured the Filipino members backed American sovereignty and control, but in 1915 President Wilson reversed course and permitted a Filipino one member majority and allowed Filipinos with dissenting or opposing views of American control. This signaled the end for the Philippine Commission as a U.S. Government controlling apparatus of the Philippine Archipelago. The U.S. Congress passed the Philippine Government Law on 16 October 1916 and abolished the Philippine Commission; moreover, the Philippine Legislature became two Filipino elected and chambered houses and provided complete legislative power to the Filipinos. The U.S. Governor still was the chief executive and possessed veto powers over any Philippine legislation from the two houses.¹⁰⁵ The position of Speaker of the Legislature was created and this Filipino politician interacted with the Governor regularly to ensure the national government functioned via approved legislation and political leadership. The Americans steadily began to transfer more governmental posts over to Filipinos and the progressive steps

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 19.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 110.

continued toward Filipino self rule and independence.¹⁰⁶ By the time the U.S. became involved in World War I in 1917, the Philippines was a glide path to self governance and an American focus on potential external threats to the archipelago. The Philippine Constabulary and the Philippine Scouts were the main security and stability enablers working for the Filo-American Government and would provide the primary effort for future civil support operations.

By 1907 most stability operations, minus the Moro Province, were complete or had been transitioned to American and Filipino civil governments at the provincial and local levels. The U.S. Army provided civil support as defined by the current U.S. Army FM 3-0 tasks of support to civil law enforcement and support to local governance. The Philippine Constabulary was the focal point for most support by the U.S. Army and its auxiliary force the Philippine Scouts. The U.S. Army assumed a supporting role to the Philippine Constabulary and the provincial and local governments. This transition to civil support operations in most of the Philippine Archipelago (stability operations were still ongoing in the Moro Province) permitted the U.S. Army to concentrate resources and time on training and preparing for brigade and larger unit offensive and defensive operations, and allowed U.S. Army leadership to prepare for potential invasion defense. The Philippine Constabulary continued stability and law enforcement activities on the Philippine Archipelago and enabled the Philippine Government to develop and continue a transition to increases Filipino control in preparation for eventual self rule.

The Philippine Constabulary engaged in stability operations in northern Luzon for nearly ten years. The various tribes of this mountainous jungle region engaged in head hunting or debt of life (the collecting of heads by warriors of those that have offended them) as part of their culture, but the Philippine Commission and U.S. Government officials sought to rid this savage practice in order to ensure security and stability for the new civil government.¹⁰⁷ Between 1902 and 1913 the Constabulary

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 124.

¹⁰⁷ Roth, *Muddy Glory*, 124.

waged a campaign to stop the debt of life process and instill modern democratic principles of peace and prosperity for all inhabitants. Several American and Western employees were beheaded, but eventually most of the savage attacks against foreigners ceased. The terrain made civilizing all the native tribes nearly impossible, but by 1913 the provinces of northern Luzon were secure and civil support operations were underway.

As mentioned earlier, the Philippine Constabulary was founded in July 1901 by U.S. Army CPT Harry Allen at the request of the Philippine Commission (Act No. 175) as a para-military security or national police force and primarily assigned the duties of preventing and suppressing brigandage, insurrection, riots, and unlawful disturbances of the peace.¹⁰⁸ The Philippine Constabulary was under the control of the civil government (Philippine Commission) but organized and led by U.S. Army officers and senior NCOs. Furthermore, this created tension and rivalry with the U.S. Army, and incorrectly focused the Constabulary on military matters versus their primary duty of civic action and law enforcement. The Constabulary's role became more of a military substitute or augmentation and caused a deterioration of some local security, permitted local corruption, and allowed an unsuccessful integration of republican democratic ideals.¹⁰⁹ The Constabulary provided a means to incorporate the Filipinos in counterinsurgency and law enforcement operations designed to ensure security for the development of effective, legitimate, and successful civil governance, and provided valuable training and education for the Filipinos for eventual self rule and independence. Until 1907 (1913 in the Moro Province), the Constabulary focused on assisting the U.S. Army and its auxiliary force the Philippine Scouts in defeating insurrections throughout the Philippine Archipelago.

¹⁰⁸ Reynaldo P. San Gabriel, *The Constabulary Story* (Quezon City, Philippines: Bustamante Press, Inc., 1978), 83.

¹⁰⁹ Mihara, "Soldiers or Policemen: The Role of Indigenous Constabularies in the Philippines and Haiti," *Security Assistance: U.S. and International Historical Perspectives: Proceedings of the Combat Studies Institute 2006 Military History Symposium*, 399.

However, by 1904 the Constabulary began tackling civil support operations tasks of providing essential services, maintaining law and order, protecting infrastructure and property, and maintaining and restoring local government throughout the islands. The Constabulary became responsible for most of the telegraph and wire services, established a medical division and opened hospitals and clinics, ran most of the mail services, enforced sanitary laws, contained epidemics, and guarded jails and escorted prisoners throughout the archipelago.¹¹⁰ The focus on the local and provincial governments and infrastructure allowed the Constabulary to have a positive impact on the Filipino society and portrayed the Constabulary as an effective and necessary organization for the average citizen. The usage of Constabulary resources to augment or lead U.S. Army forces in major counterinsurgency or stability operations, severely limited civil support or civic action projects and allowed for banditry and corruption to persist in some municipalities and provinces. Constabulary COL John White reiterated the confusion of Constabulary roles with the U.S. Army by stating that the U.S. Army Soldier leadership of the Constabulary was incapable of separating itself from the military and neglected its responsibility to the local communities.¹¹¹ Despite the flaws in utilization, the Constabulary provided invaluable service and contributions to effective U.S. stability and civil support operations, and continued to serve as a national police force into the 1920s and 1930s. The Philippine Constabulary assisted in reorganizing the municipal and local police forces in conjunction with a Philippine Legislature act in 1912, and gradually developed and improved the standards, training, and performance of provincial and local police forces.¹¹² The eventual independent Filipino nation of the late 1940s maintained the Philippine Constabulary as a national police force and it still exists today (now known as the Philippine National Police) based on its founding principles established by the Philippine Commission and CPT Allen. The Philippine

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 399.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 401.

¹¹² Elliot, *The Philippines*, 181.

Constabulary has been widely written about and its history under the American controlled Philippine Islands 1898-1941 is very important, but not the primary focus of this paper and is a great topic for further study.

The establishment of the Philippine Legislature in 1907, the Philippine Government Law of 1916, and the contributions of the Philippine Constabulary and Philippine Scouts contributed to the success of U.S. Army civil support operations during this time period. The American Governor and the senior U.S. Army commander (Philippine Division commander) worked collectively to ensure the legitimacy, primacy, and security of the new Philippine Government, and continued to increase the involvement and seniority of the Filipino political leadership in order to set the conditions for eventual self-rule and independence. The Philippine Constabulary and Philippine Scouts enabled the American led civil government to remain secure, operational, and valid in the eyes of the Filipino populous, and provided a basis for future law enforcement, security, and national defense forces capable of defending and supporting a national government and provincial and local governments.

The 1907-1917 period of U.S. Army involvement focused primarily on stability, civil support, and limited offensive operations. The Moro Province required a longer duration of stability operations due the continuance of insurgencies, Muslim culture, and the difficult terrain, and required limited offensive operations in 1911 and 1913 to defeat large insurgent groups. In the remainder of the archipelago, the U.S. Army focused on civil support operations and continued necessary support to local law enforcement, maintenance of local government, and steadily transitioning more responsibility to the Filipino leaders and elected officials. The variety of emphasis in the various regions further demonstrated the concept of conducting multiple elements of full spectrum operations simultaneously. The overall success of the U.S. Army in the four elements of full spectrum operations, offense, defense, stability, civil support, allowed the U.S. Army to transition to garrison operations as part of an invasion defense posture for potential future conflicts. The transition from full spectrum operations to garrison defense of a strategic base, and a U.S. territory, provides an interesting discussion of how the U.S. Army conducts successful operations and then is part of national strategic policy in a new stage of international affairs.

Chapter 4: Transition to Garrison Duty and Invasion Defense (1907-1941)

President William McKinley, and later President Theodore Roosevelt, and the senior leaders of the U.S. Army and Navy viewed the Philippine Islands as a strategic archipelago in the western Pacific and most advocated its importance to American military, economic, and political interests. This created a situation or scenario where after the U.S. Army conducted full spectrum operations (as defined in current U.S. Army doctrine) in the Philippines, a transition to a strategic defensive posture of securing and defending the Philippine Archipelago occurred. The decision by the U.S. Government to transition to garrison duty and invasion defense is a departure from full spectrum operations but a noteworthy area of discussion to demonstrate the evolving nature of U.S. policy following a full spectrum conflict. After the McKinley Administration decided to annex the Philippine Islands via the Treaty of Paris in 1898, American military and civilian leaders realized that once combat operations were complete the U.S. Military needed to garrison the islands to protect U.S. interests and project U.S. power and influence in the region. In 1904 the Russo-Japanese War began and after Japan's decisive victories in 1905 at Tsushima Straits and Mukden, the U.S. realized the Japanese were a viable threat to the U.S. and its Pacific possessions (most notably the Philippines, Guam, and Hawaii).¹¹³ President Roosevelt sponsored and mediated the peace negotiations between the Russians and Japanese (Portsmouth Conference) and did so to ensure American interests were not threatened and agreements were in place to avoid conflicts in the future over Pacific possessions. Roosevelt was fearful that American agreements with China and Korea might lead to a war with Japan, and he wanted to avoid a conflict and preserve U.S. interests; furthermore, an agreement was reached that the U.S. would not interfere with Japanese desires concerning Korea and in return Japan pledged no desires to threaten the Philippines. The Portsmouth Treaty was signed on 2

¹¹³ Linn, *Guardians of Empire*, 84.

September 1905 and President Roosevelt was viewed a master politician and statesman and received the 1906 Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts.¹¹⁴

Despite the political and diplomatic successes, the U.S. Military realized preparations were required for defending the Philippines, Hawaii and the U.S. West Coast, and MG J. Franklin Bell, U.S. Army Chief of Staff, directed the U.S. Army to initiate war planning in January 1907.¹¹⁵ As the Philippine Division commander (senior U.S. Army commander in the Philippines) in 1907, MG Wood initiated and prepared war plans for defending the Philippine Islands and believed the preservation and defense of the Philippine Islands was a key element in thwarting Japanese aggression in the Pacific.¹¹⁶ In 1912 BG Pershing rewrote war plans to defend Mindanao from Japanese attack and stated that the majority of the Filipinos would remain loyal to the U.S. and assist in defending against a Japanese invasion.¹¹⁷ Most U.S. Army commanders recognized the requirements for larger amounts of troops and capabilities to successfully defend against an invasion and the unlikely hood of a larger force and necessary resources being committed to the Philippine Islands by the U.S. Government. They also recognized the favorable terrain on the island of Luzon for an invading force to be a difficult challenge for a successful defensive operation.

The difficulty in defending the Philippines was its tremendous distance from the U.S. and the requirement for the forces on the archipelago to defend against an invasion knowing reinforcements would take months to arrive. Further complicating the matter was where should U.S. Forces defend and what key areas should they defend? The U.S. Army and Navy disagreed on these fundamental principles because of their different opinions on which areas or sites were most important and defensible. The Navy wanted Subic Bay as the centerpiece of any war plan designated to defend and reinforce the

¹¹⁴ Gould, *The Presidency of Theodore Roosevelt*, 186.

¹¹⁵ Linn, *Guardians of Empire*, 85.

¹¹⁶ Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood: A Biography*, 80.

¹¹⁷ Smythe, *Guerrilla Warrior*, 183.

Philippines because of the terrain surrounding the harbor; however, the Army deemed Subic Bay undesirable because it forced them to defend Manila and Subic Bay (Subic Bay is approximately 35 miles northeast of Manila) instead of concentrating forces at Manila (the capital and largest urban area) which had port facilities equal to Subic Bay, and the high ground terrain surrounding Subic Bay could be captured by enemy ground forces and render the port inoperable.¹¹⁸ The two services continued to argue and disagree and were reprimanded by President Roosevelt for quibbling and not trying to coordinate efforts to accomplish U.S. strategic security and defense. Congress appropriated funding for Subic Bay and other garrisons in the Philippines for development and enhancement. This led to the Army and Navy both getting their desired emphasis but not addressing strategic realities and concerns in the plans to defend the Philippine Islands. The Navy turned its attention to developing and improving Pearl Harbor in Hawaii as its main base of operations in the Pacific and allowed the Army to take the lead in the Philippines. This would eventually lead to a future dialogue on the feasibility of defending the Philippines and whether or not the archipelago should be abandoned if attacked to preserve the U.S. forces garrisoning the islands.

The American involvement in World War I put a temporary halt to the discussion concerning the defense of the Philippines from potential Japanese attack, but following the U.S.'s victorious participation in the war to end all wars, the potential military challenges of the future returned to center stage. The U.S. Army experienced a severe downsizing following the First World War and by 1925 had a personnel strength of 135,000 (active duty forces), and approximately 12,000 of those were in the Philippines (57 percent of these troops were Philippine Scouts).¹¹⁹ The Militia Act of 1917 enacted by the Philippine Legislature and approved by Governor Francis B. Harrison imposed mandatory military service on all Filipino males and established the Philippine National Guard. This excited the majority of Filipinos at the

¹¹⁸ Linn, *Guardians of Empire*, 86.

¹¹⁹ Coffman, *The Regulars*, 326.

prospect of serving their country. This act was in response to Filipino desire to serve in France during World War I, and received mixed feelings from President Woodrow Wilson's Administration and U.S. Military leaders. Approximately 14,000 Filipinos were part of the new Philippine National Guard by 1918.¹²⁰ The necessity to prepare for defense of the Philippine Islands continued and fueled the debate between the U.S. Army and U.S. Navy (and internal debate within the Army) as the proper strategy and war plan development by the Joint Board in Washington, D.C.

The development of the American Military war plans during the early 1900's focused on a variety of scenarios. The U.S. Navy provided them color codes and orange became the identifier for a potential conflict with Japan. By the late 1920's, the U.S Navy and U.S. Army held annual war games at their respective War Colleges to exercise the war plans maintained by the U.S. Military. The Philippine Islands factored heavily into the equation of war plan orange, and essentially two schools of thought emerged. The first concept centered on initially defending the archipelago with forces in and around the islands and immediately reinforcing the islands with maritime and land forces from the continental U.S. (CONUS). The second concept centered on sacrificing the forces in and around the Philippines (or withdrawing American forces before a hostile invasion to prevent their destruction), concentrating on defending the Alaska, Hawaii, and Panama line, and counterattacking the Japanese fleet and for a decisive battle in the central Pacific (and retaking islands by maritime and land forces and utilizing land based aircraft as the counteroffensive moves west through the Pacific).

The first school of thought was championed by a number of officers most notably BG Douglas MacArthur (later MG and CSA 1930-1935) and LTC John Gulick (Chief of the Army War Plans Division).¹²¹ Their opinion was the Philippines Islands should not be abandoned but immediately reinforced with superior resources; and, the Filipinos could muster approximately 100,000 reserve troops

¹²⁰ Linn, *Guardians of Empire*, 111.

¹²¹ Ibid., 172.

to assist the American garrisons in the initial defense of the islands.¹²² MG MacArthur argued the Philippines Islands were an invaluable asset to the U.S. and it was in American National interests to defend and sustain the U.S. territory. The primary difficulty with this course of action was the tremendous distance required to move reinforcing maritime and land component forces to the Philippines, and the vulnerability of those resources enroute and in the Philippine theater of operations.

The second school of thought was mainly advocated by the U.S. Navy, but also by key leaders of the U.S. Army. The most notable were CAPT (later ADM) William Halsey as a Naval War College and Army War College student, BG Stanley Embick the Chief of the Army WPD, and ADM William Pratt Chief of Naval Operations. They argued that dispatching an American Naval Fleet and an American Army Expeditionary Force to immediately reinforce the Philippines would be “an act of madness” and result in a catastrophic defeat for the U.S. Military.¹²³ Furthermore, they advocated withdrawing U.S. forces or lightly defending the Philippine Islands and focusing on maintaining a defense line running north to south from Alaska to Hawaii to Panama and preserving U.S. Military forces for future counteroffensives. CAPT Halsey expressed his opinion that the counteroffensive against Japan would require a Joint effort between the U.S. Army and U.S. Navy to defeat the Japanese; and, the land forces provided the true path to victory not the maritime forces.¹²⁴

The debate encompassed the war plan orange discussion from 1919-1941 and depending who was in key military and civilian posts at any given time, both schools of thought garnered support and resources. MG MacArthur would continue to be outspoken about resourcing and reinforcing the Philippine Islands in the event of attack up until the actual Japanese Invasion on 10 December 1941. The U.S. Navy continued to focus on the Alaska to Hawaii to Panama line concept, and believed the security

¹²² Ibid., 152.

¹²³ Henry G. Gole, *The Road To Rainbow: Army Planning for Global War, 1934-1940* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2003), 42.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 43.

of the U.S. was dependent on this strategy until the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941. The U.S. Army remained focused on defending the Philippine Archipelago as part of its war plans and allocated resources to that end until the Japanese invasion in 1941, and continued to plan, advocate, and resource a Filipino reserve to assist in the defense of the islands.

The decision to build and occupy permanent garrisons on the Philippines centered on protecting the U.S. Army Soldiers from the environmental elements with permanent structures and better sanitation and defending the archipelago from Japanese or foreign invasion. Additionally, controlling the Filipino populous was also strategically important to the U.S. Army, and maintaining permanent garrisons enhanced the stability and civil support operations conducted in support of the Philippine Government and the Philippine Constabulary and Scouts. MG Chaffee initiated the construction in 1903 for the first reason mentioned and by 1905 the second reason became a valid rationale following the Russo-Japanese War. Fort William McKinley was the first permanent garrison in the Manila area (completed in 1904), and addition acreage was acquired in and around Manila for training area.¹²⁵ In 1910 a U.S. Army board proposed building twelve additional posts throughout the archipelago. Five additional garrisons on Luzon, five on Mindanao, one on Panay, and one on Cebu were proposed, but after decisive operations in the Moro Province 1913 the priority for garrison construction shifted to Luzon.¹²⁶ The U.S. Army also adapted its personnel and unit assignment plan for the Philippines to accommodate and long term commitment of resources for garrisoning and island defense.

In 1912 the War Department and the CSA MG Wood decided to create permanent overseas forces instead of constantly rotating units around the globe. Affective 30 March 1912, General Order Number 8 mandated four infantry regiments, 2 cavalry regiments, and one artillery regiment for service in

¹²⁵ Coffman, *The Regulars*, 83.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 84.

the Philippines, and essentially established a “colonial army” among the active duty U.S. Army forces.¹²⁷

The establishment of a permanent force structure in the Philippines led to the development of unit history and culture among the regiments stationed in the islands. The combination of American and Filipino culture enriched the friendly relations between the U.S. Army Soldiers and the Filipino population. As the Filipinos developed their abilities to govern, secure, and lead themselves, the cordial relationship built between the Filipino peoples and the U.S. Soldiers garrisoned in their homeland enabled the transition to Filipino independence to be smooth and tranquil.

By World War I, a large portion of the U.S. Army had served in the Philippines, and many future leaders became experienced warriors via their time in the Philippines. MG Pershing and many of his army, corps, division, and regimental commanders of the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) in World War I were Philippine veterans.¹²⁸ Future World War I and II stars George Marshall, Douglas MacArthur, Dwight Eisenhower, Billy Mitchell, and Benjamin O. Davis served in the Philippines. In 1901 an organization was created to promote and honor service in the Philippines. The Military Order of the Carabao was founded to counter the Military Order of the Dragon for U.S. Army veterans of operations in China, and became an infamous organization encompassing a wide and senior membership.¹²⁹ Generals Pershing, Chaffee, Arthur and Douglas MacArthur, Presidents Taft, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon, former enemies Emilio Aguinaldo and Manuel Quezon, and numerous other dignitaries were all honorary or regular members.¹³⁰ The Military Order of the Carabao still exists today and holds annual “wallows.”

As the Filipinos took steps toward self-rule and independence beginning in 1907 with the election of the Philippine Assembly, two Filipino political leaders emerged who would be integral in the transition

¹²⁷ Linn, *Guardians of Empire*, 63.

¹²⁸ Roth, *Muddy Glory*, 205.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 197.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 211.

to Philippine independence from American control and oversight. Sergio Osmena and Manual Quezon were both former insurrectos under Emilio Aguinaldo during the Philippine War, but altered their approaches to Filipino independence by working with the Americans to develop and secure a democratic and free Philippine nation.¹³¹ Osmena and Quezon were members of the Nacionalista Party that controlled the Philippine Assembly, the Philippine Legislature after 1917, and the Philippine Commonwealth after 1934. Furthermore, both were Speakers of the Legislature and became the most influential Filipino leaders in coordinating and working with all elements of the U.S. Government. Osmena and Quezon worked diligently to secure gradual autonomy for the Philippines from the Americans, but realized the Philippines needed protection from a potential Japanese invasion. Both leaders were forced to balance the overwhelming Filipino desire for independence and the necessity for protection and defense the Americans provided against a foreign invasion that would destroy the ability of the Philippines becoming a sovereign, democratic, and independent state.¹³² Osmena and Quezon dealt with a variety of political and personal opinions from the various American presidential administrations. Furthermore, the Democratic Administrations of Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt were more accommodating to self-rule and independence legislation and policies, and the Republican Administrations of Warren Harding, Calvin Coolidge, and Herbert Hoover were more restrained on committing to outright independence. All the American administrations from William Howard Taft to Franklin Roosevelt understood and recognized the ominous threat posed by the Japanese, and continued to support the necessity to retain U.S. Military resources on the Philippine Islands for the foreseeable future.

The Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934 passed by Congress and signed by President Franklin Roosevelt in 1935 created a Filipino Government and established the Philippine Commonwealth to

¹³¹ Karnow, *In Our Image*, 232.

¹³² Ibid., 246.

supervise the transition of the Philippines to an independent and sovereign nation by 1946.¹³³ The basic provisions of the law were the Philippines would become independent in ten years, in the interim they would govern themselves as a commonwealth (a Filipino president would be elected replacing the U.S. Governor), U.S. businesses and trade would be favored for that ten year period, and U.S. Military bases would remain for the ten year period.¹³⁴ The U.S. Army full spectrum conflict and transition to garrisoning a strategic forward operating base and defending against a Japanese attack was drawing to a close. The imperialistic and expansionist Japanese Empire proceeded on a collision course with the U.S. in the 1930s and by 1941 war was imminent and the Philippine Islands threatened. The gradual withdraw of U.S. military and political control over the Philippine Islands was ending, and demonstrated a positive example of Americanization of a nation state over a long period of time.

¹³³ Linn, *Guardians of Empire*, 177.

¹³⁴ Karnow, *In Our Image*, 254.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

U.S. Army's involvement in the Philippine Archipelago 1898-1941 demonstrated the validity of the main tenants of current full spectrum operations (offensive, defensive, stability, and civil support operations), occurring simultaneously and over a long duration of time. However, they also verified the requirement for a long term commitment of resources and time to achieve desired results. In order to conduct all elements of full spectrum operations, the American Government and its people have to display patience and sustained vigilance and understand the process is lengthy and success is difficult to judge, comprehend, and visualize. Every period in history is different and comparisons are never completely accurate. However, similarities, commonalities, and relevancy among campaigns and operations from past to present enable valuable lessons learned to be transmitted through time.

The U.S. Army is currently involved in Iraq and Afghanistan and has conducted the various aspects of full spectrum operations since those conflicts began. Valuable lessons learned from the Philippine campaigns of a century earlier can be studied and applied to today's operations. Despite differences in time, technology, terrain, anthropology, and culture the Filipino and Moro peoples of the Philippines have with the various ethnic groups in Iraq and Afghanistan, the U.S. Army has encountered similar challenges and adversaries in these campaigns and theaters of operations. Furthermore, offensive and defensive operations (major combat operations) were waged initially and then stability and civil support operations (post conflict, counterinsurgency, and nation building) followed, and at times multiple types of operations occurred concurrently. The U.S. Army's activities and operations in the Philippine Islands 1898-1941 present current Soldiers and leaders positive and negative examples of current full spectrum doctrine; and, how the Soldiers and leaders of the past faced and responded to similar problems and challenges in a foreign and unfamiliar land. If one believes in the adage that those who fail to understand and study history are doomed to repeat it, then the U.S. Army's operations in the Philippine Archipelago are a requirement for studying the current conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan.

The decision to attack the Spanish forces in the Philippines in 1898, initially occupy portions of the area around Manila, and then proceed to occupy the entire archipelago have been labeled imperialistic and a product of manifest destiny policies. However, despite some validity to those arguments, the U.S. Army's 8th Corps under MG Wesley Merritt did not seek to conquer and subjugate the Philippine Islands like the Spanish forces they defeated, and realized the enormity of having to control some or the entire archipelago. President McKinley was forced to make a decision on the future of the Philippines and the choices were not very enticing. McKinley felt the islands could not be returned to the cruel imperialist Spanish. ADM Dewey, MG Merritt, Secretary of War Root, and others believed the Filipinos were too politically ignorant and immature to govern and rule themselves. They also believed if America left other colonial powers (Japan or European nations) would swoop in and colonize the islands. The difficulty with the U.S. remaining was the geography of the archipelago and the fact that all the islands would have to be secured to prevent insurrection or foreign incursions (Japan or European powers).¹³⁵ McKinley made the decision to occupy the islands and teach and groom the Filipinos in the ways of American democracy. His policy of benevolent assimilation created a difficult situation for the U.S. Army, and forced it to wage what modern doctrine calls a full spectrum conflict. The leadership of the U.S. Army was faced with defeating Spanish conventional forces and then forced to engage Filipino nationalist conventional and later unconventional forces in the span of a year. Additionally, the conduct of offensive and defensive operations against the opposing forces widened the problem to the U.S. Army conducting stability operations to stabilize the governance and security of the indigenous population that was thrown into chaos and near anarchy.

Another rationale for proceeding with the occupation and pacification of the Philippine Islands was a sense of responsibility that comes with taking control of a territory and its people. Justice William

¹³⁵ Walter A. McDougall, *Promised Land, Crusader State: The American Encounter with the World Since 1776* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1997), 112.

Howard Taft and first civil governor of the Philippines believed it was an American duty to provide the Filipinos governance and prepare them for self rule.¹³⁶ President McKinley and Secretary of War Root understood the responsibility as well and along with the U.S. Congress provided the military commanders and military and civilian governors the resources required to stabilize the Philippines to educate and develop the Filipinos in the ways of American democratic governance. President Theodore Roosevelt and his successors realized the long term commitment to the Philippines and the evolving nature of the Filipinos politically and socially to become self-reliant and eventually independent. The U.S. Army successfully waged a full spectrum conflict in support of the U.S. Government's policies and directives, and was able to transition to garrisoning the Philippines as a key strategic outpost and staging base and prepare defenses for a potential (and eventually real) Japanese invasion.

The success of the American forces can be contributed to the flexibility and adaptability of U.S. Army commanders in the plethora of duties required to accomplish their missions in the Philippine Islands. The U.S. Army leadership had engaged in stability and constabulary tasks since the Civil War in the western part of the U.S. among the Native American tribes, but had not done so on foreign soil in fifty years. Furthermore, they had not conducted large scale governance and security tasks over an extended portion of time before the operations in the Philippine Islands. Many authors have argued the point that American Soldiers' experience and familiarity with democratic ideals and concepts assisted in the conduct of establishing, operating, and securing local, provincial, and national governments in the Philippine Archipelago. Furthermore, the recognition of civil control over the military by U.S. Military commanders permits a positive environment for civil-military relations, but does not eliminate personal and professional conflicts over policies and procedures. The MG Arthur MacArthur and Governor William Taft relationship was an example of how personality conflicts can impede civil military relationships, and subtract from positive progress occurring in the region. The Philippine Commission

¹³⁶ Minger, *William Howard Taft and United States Foreign Policy*, 2.

and the U.S. Army commanders developed a working relationship in order to facilitate progress and success in securing, stabilizing, and developing a Philippine Government, nation, and social structure.

There are numerous areas for further study concerning the topic of American involvement in the Philippines from 1898-1941. One area is the U.S. Government's decision to garrison and defend the Philippine Islands from Japanese attack. This monograph only scratched the surface of the debate on whether or not the Philippines should have been garrisoned and defended and the involvement of the Filipinos in the American defense strategy. Another aspect of American participation in the Philippines during this period was the U.S. Army's culture and composition in the archipelago and how it affected Soldiers, non-commissioned officers, and officers, wives and families, and the Army as a whole. The Philippines became a desired duty station, especially for officers because they could bring their families, and provided many with a great sense of camaraderie and esprit de corps. The Philippines were a duty location similar to what South Korea and Germany are today. The relationship of U.S. Soldiers with Filipino citizens was also interesting and demonstrated and reflected social norms of the period from the U.S. The Philippine Constabulary and Philippine Scouts are topics that have garnered a lot of attention from researchers and writers, but are still good areas for further study. The Philippine Commission is another organization that would be a great focal point for further study because the Commission was the American center of gravity for governance and policy for the archipelago. The American governor that headed the Philippine Commission exerted tremendous power and influence and had the president's ear. This period of American history is fascinating and worth continuous study and research in order to properly understand and learn from previous U.S. policies, attitudes, strategies, tactics, successes, and failures. What the U.S. Government did and did not do in the Philippine Archipelago from 1898-1941 is extremely relevant for comprehending and dissecting current operations in the Middle East and other regions of the world.

The U.S. Army's involvement in the Philippine Islands demonstrates the ability for modern day full spectrum operations to succeed, and provides a valid case study of how flexible and adaptive military

and civilian leaders have to be in order to set the conditions for success and prepare the indigenous government and populous for self governance and stability. As stated earlier, there is no template or model of how to conduct full spectrum operations from the past that will precisely fit similar problem sets in the present or future, but there are valid, valuable, and noteworthy examples, such as the U.S. involvement in the Philippines 1898-1941, that can serve as guides to defining, tackling, and solving problems with comparable elements and situations. Furthermore, using current doctrine to define or discuss conflicts, engagements, scenarios, actions, or endeavors from the past in not revisionists, incorrect, or anachronistic, and should be allowed to explore similarities and differences with current operating environment potentialities and realities. Caution must be applied to ensure someone is not arbitrarily or inaccurately justifying current doctrine by drawing exact parallels to past events. Moreover, that is a misuse of history and not beneficial to anyone. The use of full spectrum doctrine is appropriate when analyzing and reviewing the U.S. Army's involvement in the Philippine Islands 1898-1941, and can provide valuable negative and positive examples of all tenants of the doctrine.

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